

# America

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

VOL. LXXVI, NO. 5  
NOVEMBER 2, 1946



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## Contents

*America, November 2, 1946*

Comment on the Week ..... 113

Washington Front ..... Charles Lucey 117  
Underscorings ..... A.P.F. 117

Editorials ..... 118

Policy on Russia ..... What price tolerance? ..... Elections in Berlin ..... Decontrol and morals ..... All Souls Day

Articles

Requiem or reunion for socialism? ..... 121  
J. Edward Coffey

Resources for research ..... 123  
J. Pleasants and B. Bauer

Notes from Paris ..... 124  
Jean Minéry

Can the annual wage be guaranteed? ..... 125  
Benjamin L. Masse

Spoiled! But How? ..... 127

Charles J. Sullivan

Literature and Art ..... 129

Mr. Cain's time-bomb

H. C. G.

Quebec letter

Patrick Mary Plunkett

Books ..... Reviewed by

By vote of the people

After Hitler Stalin? ..... 131  
Thomas H. D. Mahoney

Lost Men of American History ..... 132  
J. T. Durkin

The Brereton diaries ..... 133  
Paul Kiniery

The Word ..... William A. Donaghy, S.J. 136

Theatre ..... Theophilus Lewis 137

Films ..... Thomas J. Fitzmorris 138

Parade ..... John A. Toomey 139

Correspondence ..... 140

### *Notice to Subscribers*

Beginning with this issue, the annual subscription rate for *AMERICA* will be \$6 (plus \$1 in Canada, \$1.50 in other foreign countries, for postage).

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**General Assembly and war** The business-like address of President Truman last Wednesday to what he called "the world's supreme deliberative body" set the right tone for the work of the General Assembly. It was a frank invitation to the fifty-one delegates to address themselves to the one big international problem, the growing talk of war between the Soviets and the Western nations. These fears the President regards as "unwarranted and unjustified." But they exist and have found private utterance in some diplomatic circles. Unless the General Assembly faces this central fact, the debates of the coming six or eight weeks will be trifling and irrelevant, because the real issue will have been ignored and will have gone unremedied. Mr. Truman indicated the way out. "To avoid war and rumors and danger of war," he said, "the peoples of all countries must not only cherish peace as an ideal but they must develop means of settling conflicts between nations in accordance with principles of law and justice." This means, as he indicated further on, that freedom from fear will be attained when the other freedoms, and human rights in general, are brought closer to realization. It is on this positive basis that the major organ of the United Nations, now meeting at Flushing Meadows in New York, should base its work. The General Assembly, if it follows the advice of President Truman, will act in constant awareness that "the highest obligation of this Assembly is to speak for all mankind in such a way as to promote the unity of all members in behalf of a peace that will be lasting because it is founded on justice." The fifty-one delegates can no longer plead, if they ever intended to plead, that their lips are sealed on the one big question that disturbs the minds of men today. The coming weeks will reveal whether the world's supreme deliberative body is a genuine spokesman for a humanity that seeks justice as much as peace.

**November elections** Next week the nation's voters will elect members of the 80th Congress, together with many State and local officials. In a few sections the registration has been gratifyingly heavy, but by and large the vote will follow the slim pattern of off-election years. To millions of our citizens it is apparently a matter of indifference who represents them in Congress or who sits in the Governor's chair. Pray God that these part-time democrats do not have to lose their liberties first, as did the Germans and French and Italians and almost all the other peoples of Europe, before they come to a proper appreciation of the privilege of the ballot. If the elections were unimportant, one might search for excuses for our part-time citizens. Voting is often a nuisance and occasionally a real hardship; and there are always so many important things which simply must be done on election day. But the balloting on Tuesday is of the highest im-

portance. The 80th Congress will deal with major domestic and international questions, and on the decisions made during the next two years will depend the nation's future and perhaps the future of freedom throughout the world. It seems certain that the Administration will not be able to command a majority in the 80th Congress on many key domestic issues, and this will be true even if the Democrats manage to retain their control of both Houses. In such circumstances, it is critically important that men be elected who have the integrity to place the general welfare above the interest of party, and who know the difference between intelligent opposition and mere obstructionism. Those who have registered should vote by all means; those who have not should be thoroughly ashamed of themselves.

**Auto workers at Cleveland** Since CIO President Philip Murray was a special guest at the sessions, the meeting of the Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers at Cleveland over the October 20 weekend was almost a preview of the national CIO wage policy which will be formulated this month at Atlantic City. "The unholy alliance between big business and their political henchmen in Congress," the UAW bigwigs charged, "has finally achieved its purpose in the complete destruction of effective control of the cost of living." Wherefore, the policy statement continued, "we have but one clear course—to demand a wage increase that will provide the workers and their families with a decent standard of living." In addition to wage increases of unspecified amount, the Board announced that demands for medical insurance, retirement pensions and a guaranteed annual wage would be tossed on the collective-bargaining table. With respect to a guaranteed wage, UAW wants to establish a labor-management committee to study the question and cooperate with the President's committee which is working on the same project. With respect to prices, the Board raised again the "ability to pay" issue which so embittered the General Motors' strike last winter. "Even at the present low level of production," the statement said, "a substantial increase in wages can be paid without any increase in prices of automobiles or replacement parts." What the tough-minded auto industry will say to that may make headlines a few months from now. Obviously, UAW President Walter Reuther is sticking to his guns, but this time he will not be the lone-some figure in labor's ranks he was last year. At its Chicago convention, the AFL announced that collective bargaining over wages should be based "on workers' contribution to production and capacity of the employer to pay." And Mr. Murray was present in person at the Cleveland meeting. If there was any doubt before, labor knows now that wages and prices are inseparably connected.

**Labor moves ahead** Although the principal emphasis at the AFL's annual convention in Chicago was on foreign affairs, several resolutions touching domestic affairs should not be overlooked. The delegates made it clear that, except for social-security legislation, a fair-employment-practice act and amendments to the Wages and Hours Act, they wanted nothing at all from the Federal Government. In view of labor's wartime impatience with government wage controls, this reiteration of Samuel Gompers' philosophy of voluntarism is perhaps not so surprising. What is surprising, though, is the manner in which the break with Washington was staged. While rebuffing the Government with one hand, the AFL simultaneously extended the other in a gesture of friendship and goodwill to American industry. The delegates called for the establishment of union-management councils and affirmed their belief that the job of improving production and reducing waste was a joint responsibility. Was this an admission from the labor side that the age of super-militant unionism is drawing to a close, and that the time has come to put labor-management relations on a constructive, cooperative basis? Were the delegates moved by a fear that, unless something like this happened in a hurry, both labor and management might soon lose their traditional freedom of action and become wards of the state? Whatever the reason behind the outstretched hand to industry, the gesture itself comes at a most acceptable time. Industry should lose no time in extending its hand and sealing the bargain in the traditional American way.

**Freedom: substance and shadow** The strenuous effort of the Czechs to preserve their "cultural freedom" while casting their political lot with communist Russia cannot fail to amuse the cynics, behind the Iron Curtain or in front of it. For the rest of us, whose sympathies for the Masaryk democratic ideal survived Munich and the war intact, only to be rudely shocked by the recent brutal transfers and traffic in minorities, it provides a tragic if instructive sort of entertainment. President Edouard Beneš addressed the Congress of Czech writers at Prague this summer, on the eve of the purge of Moscow's theatre and bookstalls, in the ringing tones that Hitler found so infuriating, and the Western world so reassuring, before the Great Blackout. "Literature," the writer-statesman pleaded, "must be free. No party or class, no direct political influence, and of course in no case the state, has any right to interfere with the free expression of literature and the arts." Bolder still is the

restatement of the first of the Four Freedoms in "apostolic" terms:

The special mission of literature is to defend always, everywhere and under all circumstances the fundamental conditions of human freedom. It is non-political and yet highly political at the same time. It excludes the deification of the state. The state serves society and the individual, not the individual the state. The issue of freedom is by no means resolved . . . a new humanism is taking shape . . .

The note of tragic irony pervading this preaching from Prague was introduced in its preface. President Beneš insists that he speaks as a "free man," and not as "President of this State." The Moscow radio has not yet seen fit to comment.

**Polish tragedy** "Are we prepared," asked Laborite J. McKay, speaking a fortnight ago on Poland in the British House of Commons, "to have despotism thrust upon a nation that has fought with us for years?" Answering for the Government, Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, C. P. Mayhew, pointed out that the question of free elections in Poland was not a domestic affair, that Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States had guaranteed free and unfettered elections to Poland at Yalta, and had repeated that pledge at Potsdam. Whereupon he continued:

On that understanding we persuaded many Poles to go back to Poland. It is only fair to them that the bargain should be carried out. It was an international bargain—a matter of international obligation. In insisting that the bargain should be fulfilled we are not interfering in Polish affairs.

It is of the utmost importance that this question be raised now. Conditions in Poland under the puppet government set up by Moscow have grown progressively worse, and if there is not a speedy end to the terrorism which grips that tragic country, no opposition party will be left to contest the election scheduled for the near but vague future. Within the past two weeks thirteen leading figures in Vice Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, including the editor of *Gazeta Ludowa*, the party organ, have been arbitrarily arrested by the secret police, and the Party itself has been outlawed in no less than twenty election districts. If the United States and Britain do not bring the strongest possible pressure on the totalitarian gangsters in Warsaw to permit a free, democratic election, we shall stand forever disgraced before history. This is not the time for polite, diplomatic notes. This is the hour for a roaring protest of indignation that will focus world attention on the dark and bloody mess behind Poland's iron curtain.

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**Trading on misery** One of the conditions for the establishment of UNRRA was the principle that no one of the contributing or administering governments would use relief or the promise of it as a means of attaining a political end. Unfortunately, this high ideal was all too often flouted, as it continues to be flouted, for example, by the Soviets in their Austrian zone. The reaction, in some American circles, was the all-too-natural one that since others were using relief as a political football, we

should retaliate by doing the same. We feel that it is to the credit of American tenacity to ideals that we resisted this understandable temptation. Even when American flyers were murdered over Yugoslavia, though some groups blocked for a time the sailing of relief ships to that dubiously friendly country, the American stand that hunger was above national tensions still stood firm. Public opinion, we think, felt that, despite what we know about Tito and his henchmen, the common people of Yugoslavia were not to be deprived of the help we and the other nations of the world had promised. Some may have preferred a more "realistic" program; this Review feels that the idealism with which we inaugurated and, by and large, ran UNRRA was a challenging example to a cynical world.

**Economic imperialism?** But the picture of relief and rehabilitation abroad begins to shift into another focus. With UNRRA on the way out, governments in need of financial aid are more and more coming directly to the United States for loans and credits. It is entirely within the just competence of our Government to demand that the would-be borrower give evidence of good faith, evidence that the funds will not be used to foster a political or economic system hostile to our own. This is the sense of Secretary Byrnes' Oct. 22 speech. The State Department has halted a \$90 million loan to Czechoslovakia since it became known that that country had already agreed to resell to Rumania \$10 million worth of surplus goods purchased from the United States—at a good profit; and when Czechoslovakia joined Russia in charging the United States with using its wealth to build up "economic imperialism." There had been a previous temporary suspension of similar credit to Poland; we think it ought to have been permanent. We are not here dealing directly with the hungry peoples of the world; we are dealing with governments who are, it seems, willing to let their people stay hungry while they try to satiate Moscow's hunger for power and expansion. In that state of affairs, we can only let it be known that loans are for friends. We hope earnestly that Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Foreign Minister, now in this country, will find the Administration happy to extend credit to his brave nation, which alone of the Danubian Powers has not yielded to Russian pressure. We hope that Italy will be similarly helped. We hope that our foreign economic policy may be more fully integrated with our foreign political aims; that the State Department, the Treasury, the Export-Import Bank and all other agencies will join in forging a policy that will say unmistakably that though we are interested in the hunger and poverty of the nations, we are still more interested in their people's freedom.

**School lunches and agriculture** Casual observers, accustomed to think of the education world as a hierarchy with the Office of Education at the top, are bound to wonder at the large part played by the United States Department of Agriculture in the new school-lunch program now going into effect. They will naturally remem-

ber that extensive use of school lunches was originally encouraged by agricultural specialists as an outlet for piled-up surpluses. And since those unhappy days in the 'thirties, the program was carried on from year to year with greater or less degrees of USDA assistance. But that was accidental background, whereas the present program has achieved permanency under the School Lunch Act signed last June 4 by President Truman. Under it, USDA officials sit down with State- or private-school authorities and thresh out the details of the program. It is this that puzzles some observers. The answer is rather simple. Actually the school-lunch act is not fundamentally a welfare measure for the indigent or a paternalistic child-feeding instrument for bureaucrats to play with while parents sit on the sidelines. Rather it is an agricultural law providing additional means for distributing to Americans the abundant foodstuffs which our farmers have shown themselves able and eager to produce. For long the USDA concentrated on raising farm production and prices; now it turns its hand to increasing consumption. The new program means additional safeguards for the health, prosperity and security of our country. It can also be a step forward along the road of social justice. The USDA, in encouraging food consumption by children, now gives additional proof that we turn our backs upon an agricultural policy of scarcity designed merely to support prices and boost farmers' incomes. Secretary Anderson, in a message to the National School Lunch Conference in Washington on October 22, after hailing the Act as "another milestone in the history of farm legislation," showed why school lunches and agriculture go hand in hand:

With each step in this history we come closer to a realization that the production of food is not an end in itself—that the process is really not complete until the food actually reaches the human beings who need it, and is best completed when it reaches those who need it most.

Viewed in that light, the encouragement of school lunches signals another advance toward an economic order in which satisfaction of human needs, and not production primarily for profit, comes first.

**Wisconsin referendum** On November 5 Wisconsin voters will decide on this proposed amendment to their State constitution: *Shall Section 3 of Article X of the constitution be amended so as to authorize the legislature to provide for the transportation of children to and from any parochial or private school or institution of learning?* Debate on the proposed amendment has been going on for a good many months, with the Protestant Wisconsin Council of Churches leading the opposition on the grounds that the amendment is "a wedge that the Catholic hierarchy is going to drive into the principle of separation of Church and State which is basic to the economic and social health of our nation." It strikes us that the Supreme Court of Mississippi disposed of the Protestant argument in its 1941 decision that granting free textbooks to all children is a use of public funds for a public purpose, and that "eternal vigilance [to protect the State from unwarranted interference in the name

of religion] is not exhibited by injecting false issues into a question which concerns only the general welfare of all its citizens." And we feel sure the Milwaukee *Journal*, Wisconsin's most influential daily, was right when, after presenting an impartial *pro* and *contra* discussion of the transportation issue, it declared that bus transportation of school children was a *public service* only, and as such should be accorded to children in parochial and private schools no less than to public-school children. The weight of opinion in court cases and in decisions of attorneys general on the bus transportation issue seems to us to justify the answer "Yes" in the Wisconsin referendum. Courts in Maryland, California, Kentucky, New Jersey (as well as the Circuit Court of Chippewa County in Wisconsin itself) and the attorneys general of Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire and Wyoming declared *for* the rights of all children to such transportation. We hope that the people of Wisconsin will, when they go to the polls, back the approval of the proposed amendment which was given by their State legislature both in 1943 and in 1945.

**Books and occupied Germany** Reappearance of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*—roughly corresponding to our American *Cumulative Book Index*—is another reminder that man lives not by bread alone. War damage and the daily fight for enough to eat have not prevented Germans with ideas from finding ways of conveying them to their fellow men through the medium of the printed word. The publishing road is rough and paper scarce, with the added difficulty that in some localities the lion's share of paper goes to leftist groups. These, though not very numerous, have often managed to outshout and outmaneuver more timorous opponents in the quest for printing materials. Whatever the difficulties, the reappearance of books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines signals a new stirring of the German spirit. The first two numbers of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*, dated August 17 and 20, 1946, list approximately 700 titles published in all four zones. A supplement adds another 100 titles. Independently of this general list, there have appeared five lists of books, pamphlets, periodicals and newspapers published in the Soviet zone up to the end of August, 1946. Contained in these Soviet zone lists are 674 titles of books, 49 periodicals and 283 newspapers and official journals. From these figures one gathers that the literary revival in the Russian area does not suffer by comparison, at least when judged on a quantitative basis. Germans will read the Russian message; the determination and enthusiasm of the Comrades will see to that. What we hope is that constructive forces, with sound intellectual backing, will show equal ability in employing the printed word to convey their thoughts to fellow countrymen. Germans, as the resurrected *Nationalbibliographie* reminds us, will read, and some of them will write and have their thoughts published. The opportunity for channeling right ideas is there for those who are able, and permitted, to use this means of communication. The above information comes from the foreign mission of the Library of Congress in Germany.

**Progress in China?** Negotiations see-sawed uneasily back and forth over the eight-point program offered to the Communists by Chiang Kai-shek on October 16. Chiang asked that the Communists agree to a cease-fire order and announce their intention of participating in the National Assembly for the drafting of a constitution, which is called for November 12. Both the government forces and the Communists would remain in possession of the territories they now hold, pending a settlement by the Committee of Three for the redistribution of troops—of the Government and Communists alike—and for the unification of the armed forces. (The Committee of Three consists of General Marshall, General Hsu Yung-chang, of the government forces, and communist General Chou En-lai.) The Communists had demanded some days ago, as a prerequisite to a truce, that both sides retire to their positions as of January 10 last, thus asking that government troops give up what they had captured during the summer. Chiang's offer is a compromise, leaving open the possibility of both sides having to yield something. Conversations were opening in Shanghai on October 17; and on the 19th the communist leader agreed to resume the Nanking parley, which he had quitted as a protest against the Government's continuation of its offensive against the Communists. An important factor in the situation is the presence of "third parties," such as the Democratic League. A threat of abstention by them from the forthcoming National Assembly would have meant that it would have been held by the Kuomintang alone—thus placing it in the position of practically dictating a new constitution for China. By the same token, if the Communists now refuse to cooperate or compromise, the "third parties" can put them in the position of being the sole abstainers and of blocking Chinese unity and reconstruction. Considering that he represents the only Chinese Government recognized by the world—including Soviet Russia, though you would hardly guess that from the party-line press—Chiang's offer to what is in essence a rebel group bespeaks a sincere desire to seek China's real welfare.

**Catholic Book Week** Under the slogan, "Pillars of Freedom—Christian Books," annual Catholic Book Week will be observed this year from Nov. 3 to Nov. 9. Every year sees a marked advancement in the planning that goes into the week, with the result that more and more Catholics are being introduced to good reading through the attention the week attracts. This year, the Catholic Library Association has prepared a very complete line-up of suggestions for programs for the elementary school, the high school, college, parish organizations. Any of these plans may be had by writing to the Association, P.O. Box 25, New York 63, N. Y. In addition, *The Catholic Booklist, 1946*, the Catholic Book Week official publication for the year, which has been prepared with the assistance of specialists in the various fields, is available from the Department of Library Science, Rosary College, River Forest, Ill. These helps will enable those interested in high-grade Catholic reading to pull their weight in the fitting celebration of Catholic Book Week.

## Washington Front

This roving reporter finds Communism as sharp an issue on the West Coast as on the Eastern Seaboard. There has been justified criticism recently of reactionaries branding as Communists all who do not agree with them, and Pacific waterfront cities offer evidence that there is enough genuine pro-communist activity to absorb all opposition energy, without wasting it where communism exists only as a phony issue.

Leftist activity in waterfront and industrial strikes has been well known in the past. Gov. Warren of California, a Republican whose progressive thinking has made party reactionaries wince now and then, told this reporter: "I regard the Communists here as dangerous. Sometimes I wonder what would have happened if Russia had been on the other side in the war."

In Washington State, Democrats unable to swallow leftist doctrine resent the dominant part some pro-communists, sailing under the Democratic banner, have had in helping to shape the party's course. Such criticism is aimed particularly at Representative Hugh De Lacy, Seattle district Congressman. It will cost the Democrats votes on Nov. 5.

As is often so, the Communists do not show great numerical strength. A communist candidate for the

Seattle city council polled 7,300 votes. Yet, working out into the liberal periphery, they exert influence out of proportion to numerical strength. A reputable Seattle newspaperman told this writer that, whereas "regular" Democrats lacked the interest to turn out for precinct political work, party-liners were vigilant in working into these neglected spots and most active in making their leftist program felt.

Many leftists who since the war have become loud politically as "Democrats" are the same who were denouncing Franklin Roosevelt as a warmonger and picketing the White House in the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Working in trade unions also, the leftists can exert political strength, as witness their opposition to the able Senator LaFollette in Wisconsin. Mr. LaFollette had not jumped through their pro-Russian internationalist hoop, and so they fought him.

A few years ago the line was: "The Yanks are not coming"—that was before Russia got into the war, of course. Now the line is that "The Yanks are coming home"—a campaign to get our troops home from abroad and strengthen the communist hand wherever it is possible to do so.

In the last fortnight, in the West, this reporter has found Westerners as sharply aware of the transparency of today's bogus party line as Americans elsewhere. Even in Washington, D. C., you can find many Stalinist apologists of other days beginning to wake up.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

Another strong statement on the effects of secular education came out of the National Conference on Religion in Secondary Education when it met at Atlantic City in the middle of October. Dr. George A. Buttrick, pastor of New York's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, told the conference that "secular education, in avoiding religious indoctrination, is guilty of the most diabolical indoctrination of all, that of giving no religious faith at all."

The faith of secular education will not bear scrutiny. . . . The secular theory of man is that he can live by facts and reason, but there is no magic in man that can transform facts into knowledge. The final issue of secular education was the bombing of Hiroshima. Religious education does, however, bear scrutiny. It answers the need of the human soul and gives peace and power.

► The conclusion commonly drawn from statements like Dr. Buttrick's is that the public schools must teach religion. But such a solution is really no solution. Few religious bodies would accept it, and one State after another would agree with the Attorney General of Kentucky, who in a recent decision said that "there is no legal authority by which religion can be taught in the

State's public schools." More realistic is the unanimous resolution passed by the American Lutheran Church at its national convention in Appleton, Wisconsin, to extend by every means possible its system of parochial day schools.

► Looking forward to the celebration of American Education Week, November 10-16, the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.) has prepared a folder of suggestions which every Catholic school should study in planning its own program for the week. The theme proposed, "The Catholic School in American Life," emphasizes the ideal of cooperation between Catholic and public schools in achieving—in different ways—their common purpose of training and educating our future citizens.

► Marquette University, Milwaukee, is using one primary textbook in all its philosophy courses, the two-volume *Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas*, edited by Dr. Anton Pegis, of the Medieval Institute, Toronto, Canada.

► A new Department of Communication Arts has been announced by Fordham University, New York. Theatre, radio, publications, the motion picture and speech will be included in the department. . . . The Georgetown Broadcasting System, a campus radio station owned and operated by Georgetown University, has become an affiliate of the new Arlington, Va., commercial broadcasting station WARL.

A. P. F.

# Editorials

## Policy on Russia

Secretary of State Byrnes and Senator Vandenberg cleared the air considerably over the weekend on American foreign policy, particularly as it affects Russia.

Accepting Senator Vandenberg's position that war between the United States and Russia "must not be allowed to become inevitable," we have to face the fact that these two Powers have to find some way of inhabiting the same world in peace. It is true, of course, as Mr. Byrnes said, that "two states can quickly reach an agreement if one is willing to yield to all demands." But it is equally true, in Senator Vandenberg's words, that "perpetual surrender of rights and ideals never did and never will buy peace. Munich did not buy peace. It merely paid the blackmail which brought war." For, unless a nation has wholly lost its sense of honor, there comes a moment when it cannot compromise further and remain free; when, prepared or not, it must fight or go under. Meantime, the aggressive nation, deluded by constant appeasement into the belief that opposition will crumble this time as it has crumbled before, embarks on the course that makes war inevitable. It is precisely that kind of inevitability which both Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Vandenberg wish to avoid.

Both the Secretary and the Senator counsel, in effect, the same course; that is, to make two things clear to Soviet Russia: 1) that the United States seeks no war with Russia and no advantages at the expense of Russia's legitimate claims; 2) that, nevertheless, the United States is not prepared to compromise on honor or justice, or to recede from the commitments which, jointly with Russia, it undertook during the war. As a corollary, the United States will insist, by every means in its power, that the Soviet rulers also honor their pledged word.

Secretary Byrnes laid down an essential condition for a lasting peace when he declared that

States must not unilaterally by threats, by pressures or by force disturb the established rights of other nations. Nor can they arbitrarily resist or refuse to consider changes in the relationships between states and peoples which justice, fair play and the enlightened sentiments of mankind demand.

What the Soviets have to understand is that, if there are "blocs," they are not an Anglo-American and a Soviet bloc, but the "bloc" of those who accept this principle and the "bloc" of those who do not.

Both Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Vandenberg expressed just resentment at the campaign of reckless vilification carried on by the Soviet press and the constant imputing of sinister motives to the United States in the Paris conference. And this from a country which had expanded enormously as a result of the war, and to which the United States had given billions in lend-lease equipment.

America has gone as far as it reasonably can—farther,

said Mr. Vandenberg—in trying to impress the Soviet rulers with our desire for genuine cooperation. But cooperation is a two-way street. It cannot be based on the assumption that Russia has a monopoly of virtue and that we are simply meddling when we insist upon fulfilling our—and Russia's—solemn commitments to see that democracy and human rights are safeguarded in eastern Europe and elsewhere.

The Soviets must wake up to the fact that peace does not flourish in an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and diplomatic billingsgate, and that the world will not accept a peace granted by Russia's leave, on Russia's terms. The world wants a peace based on respect for the pledged word and human rights; and Russia must take it or leave it.

## What price tolerance?

Has Secretary Byrnes, in his admirable effort to defend our American good faith and spirit of conciliation, committed us now to the impossible? Can we be at once "patient and firm," or "friendly and firm," with atheistic communism?

America, be it said proudly despite our sins, has not come lately to the advocacy of justice in national and international relations. But this is the first time, to our knowledge, that we have ever championed the *right* of another to adopt *any* "way of life," which his "opinions" may dictate. Constitutionally sworn to the "establishment of justice," at home we have consistently drawn the line at tolerance of sedition in time of war and of subversion in time of peace. As for foreign policy, unless the statement of the principles of a just world order embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations covenant are mere pious platitudes, they would seem to serve definite notice on the world of our intention *not* to tolerate further any "way of life" which threatens or impedes their realization in social and political practice. We are fresh come, besides, from Nuremberg, where we visited the Nazi overlords with exemplary punishment for exercising their "right" to enslave their own people as prelude to an aggressive conspiracy against the peace of the world. Precisely because they drove regimented youth, tanks and dive-bombers through our ideal of decency and elemental justice, we could not and did not share the Nazi opinion and way of life. We found we had to fight it to the death. And there are few of us who don't bitterly repent that we "tolerated" it for so long.

The same root question of compatibility between the exigencies of justice and the communist way of life is raised in scholarly and lucid fashion by the Plan for Peace issued by the Federal Council of Churches simultaneously with Mr. Byrnes' report from Paris. The Plan

calls for avoidance of war "without compromise of basic convictions." Though differences of religious and political belief are held to be "inevitable" (for Christians a doubtful and defeatist dogma, as it stands), it is thought that clashes of interest are "unnecessary," and that they can be settled amicably by the "method of tolerance." Whatever the validity of this thesis where men and nations agree on some minimum of fundamental moral truths and practices, we can see scant ground for its applicability to the emerging struggle between communism and our "way of life." Communist interests, at home or abroad, are a function of communist belief, and that belief gives no quarter to moral truth or principles of justice as the civilized world has learned from Jesus Christ to understand and defend them. Tolerate or placate communist "interests," and you inevitably compromise the dearest of our "convictions," our Christian belief in justice.

The analogy from American history adduced by the Federal Council is particularly instructive on this point. "Protestants knew," we read, "from bitter experience in other lands what would be the consequences if each sought by violent and unscrupulous means to make his belief prevail. *So they banned the use of such intolerant methods.*" (Emphasis added) The Colonial solution, then, was prohibition by law, not tolerance. The identical problem of ridding the human family of "violent and unscrupulous means to make a belief prevail" is now transferred, dramatically again, from the national to the international plane. We are united in the conviction that communism is intrinsically false as a faith, violent and unscrupulous as a way of life. How can we serve or preserve justice by "tolerating" it, or even admitting its "right" to work its dictatorial will upon the noble Russian people—and perhaps tomorrow the world?

## ***Elections in Berlin***

The first free municipal elections in Berlin since 1932 have been held. Of the city's 3,050,000 citizens, 2,091,055 eager voters, sixty per cent of them women, flocked to the polls and gave a thumping and humiliating setback to communism and the Russians. The Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party, a hybrid spawned by the forced merger of the Social Democratic parties with the Communists, polled less than twenty per cent of the votes, or 405,992 tallies; the Social Democrats, though officially defunct after the above-mentioned merger, polled 999,170, the Christian Democratic Union 454,202, and the conservative Liberal Democrats 192,527. Berlin Communists—and even some in Moscow—are indeed Red, but it is to be noted mainly in their countenances.

This Berlin result proves three things and makes imperative the shaping of American foreign policy along a very definite line.

It proves, first of all, the genuineness of the pattern that has taken shape all over Europe—wherever free elections can be held, communism comes off a poor second- or third-best. This is so evident by now that its converse can be used as a touchstone: wherever the Communists

win an election, it is *prima facie* evidence that the election has not been fair; Poland and Hungary will soon, we fear, add their sorry evidence.

Beyond this general conclusion, Unter den Linden ballots said this: the American policy *vis-à-vis Russia*, recently clarified by Mr. Byrnes as being neither tough nor soft, but patient and firm (with the accent on the firmness), has been amply vindicated. It was the presence of American and other western occupation troops in Berlin which assured a free and orderly vote against Russian attempts to sway voters with disproportionate propaganda, with gifts of cigarettes and sorely-needed food rations. As long as American troops remain as a concrete reminder that we are, in the Secretary's words, "in Europe to stay" until a settlement is reached, the German peoples and others will feel free to register their true minds.

Moreover, the Russian defeat has vindicated American policy, first inaugurated in the American zone, of allowing the Germans to form their own democratically elected local governments as a preliminary to the eventual but not to be too long postponed election of a central German government.

But most significant, we think, is the fact that the elections prove that the orderly growth of the democratic spirit in Germany depends not a little on the question of the Polish frontiers. Even the Communists in Germany realize that there cannot be a democratic Germany unless the economic nightmare of loss of almost one-fourth of German land, mainly agricultural, is dissipated. Accordingly, they dangled the promise of the return of Eastern Germany before the voters' eyes, only to find themselves foolishly out on a limb when Molotov, after Mr. Byrnes' Stuttgart speech, felt constrained to refuse any rectification of Polish-German frontiers.

This Kremlin repudiation of the explicit agreement among the Big Three undoubtedly swung many a German voter to cast his ballot against communism, but in so doing he was also voting his confidence that American foreign policy will continue patient, but above all firm, to insist on elementary justice to Germany in the matter of territories when the German peace treaty is taken up.

Observers have remarked that the Berlin vote was not pro-democratic, but simply anti-communist and anti-Russian. That may be; but if the Germans are vacillating in a political void, American dynamism in foreign affairs can prove the pole of attraction, if only the Administration's policy of firmness is backed up at home by public opinion and if that policy puts high among its principal objectives the duty of seeing that Germany after the peace has room enough in which to live, and live democratically.

## ***Decontrol and morals***

With meat controls gone and a Presidential promise that they will not return, it might be argued that those who defended the retention of controls have a lot of explaining to do. Actually their efforts to keep basic foodstuffs available for low-income families will probably be vindicated

by subsequent events. Prices have advanced beyond wartime highs, and while a slump in the farm market may set them tumbling yet, for the present the non-farmer with a limited budget for food is badly squeezed.

Once rationing of basic foodstuffs, among which meat and dairy products should certainly be included, was ended, the consumer could satisfy his demands in the existing seller's market only by outbidding competitors. All too easily the black market frustrated efforts at price control. Now cattle-raisers, along with growers of other products, were among the beneficiaries of this chaotic state of affairs. They had the meat, and price became the prime consideration in its disposal, regardless of what happened to regular packers, to the leather industry or to those who needed cattle by-products. Apparent justifying reasons were offered for taking advantage of this situation. Feeds were high, labor scarce, the future uncertain. Increased income meant that debts could be paid and some compensation experienced for the years when growers took a big risk in even feeding an animal or planting a field. Now some farmers discussing this aspect of the situation are prone to maintain that withholding of farm products under such circumstances is no more improper than for a laborer to strike for higher wages. The farmer, it is said, merely seeks in this fashion his equitable share of the national income.

Such a line of reasoning is neither altogether correct nor wholly incorrect. Farmers surely have a right to organize and defend themselves against ruinously low prices. They may seek to improve their economic condition whenever this can be done in an orderly and reasonable way. The point at which the line of reasoning becomes incorrect is when it would justify a farmer's food strike under any and all conditions. Such a blanket right cannot be maintained for labor, much less for those who control the food supply at its source. People may get along without the most convenient transportation, even without light or heat, but without basic foodstuffs they cannot live. Moreover the withholding of one basic foodstuff cannot be treated in isolation. When meat, for example, is scarce and high, dairy products and protein foods are sought as substitutes and their prices also go out of reach.

Nor can those who would justify withholding of basic foods on the ground that prices are unfair find much justification today. Generally speaking, farm prices are today well above parity, that theoretical figure at which the farmer is assumed to be getting a just price. Withholding food under such circumstances is not for an equitable or decent price but primarily for further profit. And the unethical element comes in precisely when we realize that the withholding merely for a better price concerns basic foodstuffs, the price for which is already reasonable and the lack of which will cause serious suffering among people who have no other way of getting food save through ordinary market channels.

We would like our position to be perfectly clear. There are plenty of farmers who have suffered from an unstable market in the past. Plenty more are today pushed around by circumstances and by rising prices for what they have

to buy. But there are also others—as was evidenced during last spring's wheat crisis and more recently during the meat shortage—who think first in terms of price and profit and only then of the consumer and the maintenance of a stable economic order. To call attention to the selfishness of this minority and its unfortunate succumbing to the errors of laissez-faire is not to be more exacting of the farmer than of organized labor. Many abuses of position have been indulged in by both labor groups and management. But that doesn't justify any farm group for attempting the same thing.

## All Souls Day

The tourists' auto stopped by the side of a Catholic cemetery, where the people of the parish were kneeling in the autumn leaves beside the graves of their loved ones on All Souls Day. "Oh, why do we forget our dead?" came a woman's voice from within the car. And her companion gruffly answered: "I wonder if it is because we have forgotten sin, and the peace that is acquired by those who often remember it."

The message of All Souls Day, with its vision of purgatory in the life to come, is a hard message for the world-centered mind. For it teaches that no earthly separation or loss is comparable to the separation from God which is the result of sin, and the loss of God which is its punishment. It teaches furthermore, that the sin of every single individual, no matter how slight the offense may appear, must be expiated. If I do not now avail myself of the sufferings and prayers of others, I must pay the temporary penalty, even of forgiven sins, here or in the life to come.

And it is anything but comfortable to reflect that personal sins, that are not utterly different from the sins you and I whisper through the grating on a Saturday afternoon, are the basic cause of the agony and chaos of the world today. Nothing will really cure things, until we go on our knees and offer prayers and penance in atonement to God for the vast flood of crime and impiety which has poisoned humanity's spiritual bloodstream.

Yet the consolation of the message far outweighs its bitterness. For it means for the individual that every least good action, every cross bravely borne, every lifting of the heart to God, not only pays off part of my own personal debt, but sends a wave of atonement and blessing away to the furthest reaches of Christ's Mystical Body, whether the Church Militant here, or the Church Suffering in the world to come. Nothing is lost in this glorious divine economy; nothing is unregarded.

All Souls Day reveals to us that none of us is a helpless spectator in the great drama of good and evil. We are all active combatants, and the less we can do outwardly may often mean the more we can inwardly contribute to the splendor of the final victory. In the secrecy of her convent cell, St. Thérèse of Lisieux wrestled for the souls of China's millions and Alaska's Eskimos and Indians. Each hour for the Christian is like a time-cell, wherein he can offer his silent expiation for the sins that are tormenting the world.

# Requiem or reunion for socialism?

J. Edward Coffey

*It would seem as if Socialism were afraid of its own principles and of the conclusion drawn therefrom by the Communists, and in consequence were drifting towards the truth which Christian tradition has always held in respect; for it cannot be denied that its programs often strikingly approach the just demands of Christian social reformers. (Pius XI, in Quadragesimo Anno.)*

Fifteen years after Quadragesimo Anno, these words of Pope Pius XI, like so much in his analysis of the social evils and opportunities of our times, are found to be rimmed with the aura of prophecy. While we were busy with the desperate task of quelling the nazi dragon, and smoking out the communist bear into the broad daylight of a new battlefield, socialism as a way of life, philosophy or technique has been "mitigating" itself practically out of existence.

Its name persists, harmlessly enough, though the heart is all but stilled. Where is there left a principle or platform it can call its very own? The awful things the encyclicals and textbooks used to say about it (our own professor of ethics scared us with a *metaphysical* argument to prove its doctrine and deeds were evil) are all valid still as anathemas for communism, that last if formidable redoubt of Marx and his dialectic materialism. But not for the "socialism" of Norman Thomas, Ignazio Silone, Léon Blum, Ernest Bevin or the Scandinavian co-operative states.

Read them, hear them talk, watch them at work. With all of them our "property," if not quite sacred yet, is safe. The "classes" don't "struggle" any more, except against a common enemy and for a common prosperity. The darling Marxian maxim that "labor makes and takes all" is replaced by the cry of "equal economic (and political) opportunity for everyone." Social justice is a goal over the horizon. Only some of the means of production, and those the potential instruments of monopoly, are destined to be "controlled" and administered socially; none of them need actually be "owned" by the state. From the universal provider of *things* to enjoy, the state has become the servant of *men*, who use it "democratically" to emancipate themselves from capitalistic exploitation, exercising their human right to provide for themselves the necessities and comforts of life. Bernstein, the German revisionist, had reason to call socialism a "moultling doctrine" twenty years ago. Today there are only a few drooping feathers left—on its left wing.

The American Socialist Party invites us to a lecture series on "Religious Ideals and the Socialist Campaign." M. Léon Blum confessed the other day that he had long since given up the absurdities of the Marxian view of history and human nature, "not that I have been converted to religion of any description, but because I be-

*In many countries today, members of the Socialist Party find themselves in accord with the Christian democratic groups rather than with left-wing Communists. Will the socialist movement eventually become an expression of Papal social teaching under Christian guidance?*

lieve that reason explains the laws of existence." The American Shadwell could report, after a tour of Europe in 1927, that the "breakdown" was a fact, and "paralysis" had set in, wherever socialism confronted the responsibilities of political power. In *Fortune* for October, 1946, William Schlamm brings the record up to date with the reporter's observation that "socialism itself, the Second International revolution that miscarried, is today a less inspiring creed in Europe than at any time since Marx issued his Manifesto."

The reassuring and even hopeful feature of this last reel in the moving-picture of socialism's bare hundred years lies in the growing evidence that the fadeout is to be neither an ignoble rout nor a sanguinary revolution. Disillusion has not led to panic. Yesterday's disciple of Comte, Marx and Engels has been examining his conscience seriously. Introspection has revealed to him, as Pius XI foretold, that he has reason to be afraid of his classic "principles," and to be alarmed with the rest of us at their hideous incarnation in atheistic communism. But his fear turns out to be a "constructive" thing, as Mr. Bernard Baruch phrased it lately; and the world's current alarm has rendered him more acutely conscious than he has ever been before of the Christian truth and ethic underlying much of what he has been trying to say and do for our common "cultural" welfare. The Socialist is beginning to discern his own land of promise in Christian Democracy.

The signs are numerous, wherever we turn. In Italy, Pietro Nenni's party is critically embarrassed—momentarily, we may hope—to find itself in complete and deep-seated agreement with the Christian Democratic Center on almost every political and social issue. German and Austrian Social Democrats "desert" to the postwar CDP in hundreds. The MRP in France finds it natural, after a precarious victory for the new compromise Constitution at the polls, to appeal—in vain, again, for the moment—to the Socialists of Léon Blum and Vincent Auriol for "collaboration" in the task of revision. And this despite the inveterate sectarian prejudice that marked the Socialist campaign in the Constituent Assembly for "lay" schools and a "lay" state. Parallel action is the order of the day in Belgium and Holland, where Socialists and Christian Democrats aim at a better social order differing only in minor details and emphasis from that of the papal social encyclicals. From "Plan and State," in William Schlamm's felicitous if slightly lyric epigram, the movement of the West towards "God and Person" is patent and precipitate enough to be called already a "victory for *Rerum Novarum*."

From England the indications are overwhelming that socialism has not only severed the major ties that bound it (never very slavishly) to a creed outworn, but that it

sees and seeks its salvation as a political and social economy in the religion and morality which give democracy its soul. There are no "denominational" overtones in the evolution, of course; but neither are these to be found, reporters to the contrary notwithstanding, in Christian Democracy. At Princeton's bicentennial conference this month even Laborite leader Harold Laski, whose unstable socialistic outlook has been too often compromised by a revolting admixture of venom and conceit, is impelled to aver that "we must find ways of ending that fatal dualism in the human mind which builds an abyss between the ways of morality and the ways of power." Prime Minister Clement Attlee is bold and proud enough to claim, without fear of contradiction from the million Catholics who helped bring his party to its present position of power, that "British Labor derives its socialism from Jesus Christ rather than from Karl Marx."

But the honor of writing the obituary notice—or of saying prayers for the dying—over the body of doctrinaire socialism has been left to Sir Stafford Cripps, Labor's incumbent President of the Board of Trade, who for years has been an indefatigable apostle of economic and social justice "the socialist way." His latest book, frail, lucid and forthright as a catechism, pretends to be a Socialist's "challenge to the faithless." Given the significant title *Towards Christian Democracy* (New York, The Philosophical Library, 1946. Pp. 101. \$2), it succeeds in being much more. It measures the full distance socialism has "drifted" from its moorings in Marx, and clearly points to the port towards which it is tending, almost by a fatal necessity.

Literally nothing is left of the "fundamental opposition to the Christian faith" which led Pius to speak of "Christian socialism" as a contradiction in terms. World socialism is to be saved by the Gospel, by the faith and good works of *believers*. The Spirit of God, without which we are lost, is revealed in the doctrine and Person of Jesus Christ. All men are equal before God; all should equally serve the community; the protection of the weak is a duty incumbent upon the strong. Thus Christian equality, Christian service and Christian compassion are the bulwarks of the nation's private and public life, and therefore of the state charged with the promotion of its common weal:

Our Christian faith must be the touchstone, the standard to which we can refer all our problems. Our conception of right and wrong, of justice and injustice, must be based upon the teaching of Christ, for that is the only firm basis upon which we can build our lives or our society.

Cripps is no less "evangelical" when he comes to the neuralgic point of old socialist orthodoxy: the structure and function of the state. Certain throwbacks to Marx still linger, it is true, in the theory that "ownership of land and of any means of production other than for personal use" constitutes a perpetual threat of "exploitation"; and in the naïve contention that state arbitration and control must be accepted as "the best we can do in obtaining impartiality." But even here the core-principle of traditional socialism, according to which the means of

production are *of right* the property not of individuals but of the state, has been unceremoniously hollowed out and thrown away. In its place is the doctrine, of purest papal flavor, that

the democracy controlling the state's actions must be imbued with the Christian spirit. A democracy with purely materialist standards could hardly be expected to bring Christian principles to bear upon the organization of its industry . . .

If His Britannic Majesty's Minister of Trade is a faithful mouthpiece—and there is every reason to believe he is—"How much *must* we socialize?" and "How shall we control the socializing state or its corporate administrative arms?" are just about the only real remaining issues upon which authentic Christian Democracy and socialism may find themselves in serious conflict. It must be heartening to realize that these are problems of policy and political technique, rather than subjects for ideological debate.

The same may be said for Sir Stafford's view of the extent to which ownership of private property should be diffused. He is embarrassed, though not confounded, by "a broadcast message of the Pope's with its strong emphasis upon the right of individual ownership." The author's defense of proprietary rights in personal property, including home and garden, is just as emphatic. He is not so sure about those tools, which "may alter the relationship between a man and his neighbor" and lead to the hateful "exploitation" with which Marx began—and ended. He knows of "no Christian principle of teaching which lays down the sanctity of private property—might we suggest that the Pope may have had in mind the Parable of the Talents?—but holds firm to the freedom of individuals to furnish themselves with the necessities of decent living. Again, we suspect, a question of dosage or degree. In any construction of the theory, we are leagues distant from the caustic dictum of a younger Bernard Shaw: "All decent men are nine-tenths socialist, whether they know it or not; because the only alternative to being a socialist is to be a thief." Or Proudhon, who prompted Shaw, *la propriété, c'est le vol*—"property is robbery." British Labor, with Christian Democracy, restores to property the character of a symbol of the personal independence of children of God.

Drift, mitigation and moulting have saved the sincere Socialist, providentially, from the poisonous infection of communism, and brought him, by the same token, face to face with the challenge of Christian Democracy to unembarrassed partnership in the latter's plan for social and political reconstruction. Unless paltry questions of prestige and the absurd legacy of outmoded anti-clericalism are allowed to impede or delay a whole-hearted grasp of the outstretched hand, we may soon be assisting at a reunion after the requiem. For "if these changes continue," Pope Pius XI goes on to say in *Quadragesimo Anno*,

it may well come about that gradually the tenets of mitigated socialism will no longer be different from the program of those who seek to reform human society according to Christian principles.

Such a development would greatly strengthen the hands of those who fight against totalitarianism.

# Resources for research

**J. Pleasants and B. Bauer**

At the very time that Helene Magaret was writing her moving article on the need for a Catholic fellowship foundation (*AMERICA*, Sept. 21, 1946), some highly significant figures were being released by the National Research Council in Washington. These NRC figures not only provide a valuable supplement to her statistics on the lack of aid for students in Catholic schools, but also suggest an alternative or additional solution to the problem which she poses, at least in the field of advanced scientific studies.

More than that, the NRC report provides a qualitative index of Catholic scientific research which corroborates and complements the quantitative index of Catholic scholarship provided by the Reyniers-Bauer survey (see "Needed: Catholic Scholars," *AMERICA*, August 3, 1946). The latter survey could judge Catholic scholarship only by its ability to break into print with original research. The NRC report allows us to judge Catholic scientific scholarship by its further ability to attract and qualify for outside financial support. The report seems to arrive opportunely, just as the lively discussion on scholarship in *AMERICA* turns toward the financial side of the question.

In this year of 1946, according to the National Research Council data as published in *Chemical and Engineering News* of September 10, 1946, there are 302 industrial companies providing 1,800 fellowships, scholarships or grants-in-aid for research in American institutions of learning. This figure itself shows the rapid expansion of industrial assistance to research, since only 201 companies were in the field just two years ago. But the report further points out that many companies, other than those listed, have funds set aside to be used for research as soon as university facilities and personnel are available. While the report does not attempt to give complete data on the amount of money actually spent in the field by these 302 companies, a rough tabulation of the amounts which are recorded would place the figure in excess of \$22,000,000, double the amount which Helene Magaret found was being disbursed to liberal education by 314 American foundations.

A few quotations from the NRC report will show some of the available resources:

Research Corporation . . . Grants-in-aid for postwar scientific research will be made to institutions of learning to support research in chemistry, physics, mathematics and their applications, such as engineering, in sums of \$2,500 to \$5,000 per year, over a five-year period. A fund of \$2,500,000 is available for this purpose, derived from the revenues of inventions assigned to Research Corporation by public-spirited inventors.

The Nutrition Foundation, Inc. makes "111 grants for fundamental studies in the science of nutrition to 46

*There are 1,800 grants for research in colleges and universities in the United States, but only three Catholic institutions have qualified for the aid. Why is this? ask Julian R. Pleasants, research assistant at Notre Dame, and Burnett C. Bauer, publicity director of the Ball-Band plant.*

universities and medical centers located in the United States and Canada, \$1,047,755."

In other words, there is an actual pressure of funds for research, held up merely by a lack of channels in which to flow. Before discussing the need of setting up a reserve for a Catholic fellowship foundation, let us find out how the Catholic colleges are tapping this tremendous reserve which already exists. Helene Magaret found not a single Catholic foundation in the country for the assistance of students. Obviously, we Catholics do not like to spend our own money on advanced education. Let us see how well we do with other people's.

Of the 1,800 grants mentioned in the NRC report, a great many are concentrated in the outstanding scientific research centers such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Pennsylvania State University, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, University of Minnesota, Cornell, Purdue, Harvard, Princeton, Lehigh, etc. Nevertheless, a total of 120 colleges, medical schools and polytechnic institutes are benefiting from such assistance. How many are Catholic? Exactly three! In other words, while approximately 15 per cent of the non-Catholic colleges have qualified for outside assistance, only 2 per cent of the Catholic colleges have so qualified. And only one of the three has made a really noticeable dent in the number and amount of the grants. Santa Clara holds one grant of \$150 from the Shell Oil Company for uninstructed research; Georgetown holds a grant of \$600 from the Rystan Company for dental research; and the University of Notre Dame holds two grants for bacteriological, two grants for chemical and two for physical research, the six totalling \$55,300. Eight grants out of 1,800, or about one half of one per cent of the total industrial assistance, went to Catholic colleges, which constitute about 19 per cent of the total number of colleges, and have about 8 per cent of the total number of college teachers.

While it is possible that some other Catholic colleges may be able to report industrially-sponsored research which did not happen to get into the NRC report, the report is close enough to 100 per cent complete to make a percentage comparison of Catholic and non-Catholic schools perfectly valid. And we would be pleased, and happily surprised, to hear of any other Catholic schools which have qualified for outside assistance of this sort.

When there is financial assistance actually going beginning, why should Catholic colleges be getting only \$56,000 out of \$22,000,000? The NRC report shows that not all or even the greater part of such assistance is given by the companies for out-and-out technical development aimed at the companies' immediate benefit. Such development is usually handled in the companies' own laboratories. There are exceptions, of course, such as the grant

made by the Hawaiian Pineapple Company to the University of Chicago Nursery School "for a study of the relationship of mid-morning feeding to the incidence of negative emotional behavior in nursery school children. \$1,500 per annum, plus requisite pineapple juice."

The real bulk of assistance, however, actually goes for that kind of basic research which is at home in the college or university. Even if the companies expect research to take a certain line and to produce some eventual benefits for themselves, they cannot prevent their assistance from training up new scientists and bringing to light new discoveries. There is a mutual accommodation: of the scientists to the general intentions of the assisting company, but also of the company to the demands imposed by the very nature of scientific research. Are Catholic schools suspicious of industrial support for their research? Do they fear to risk their independence by accepting such aid?

If that is their attitude, it is a well-kept secret. What seems most likely is that they have simply fallen short of that standard of excellence in research which might attract outside support. This may be due to lack of funds, to conservation in using the funds, to the teaching overload from which their faculties traditionally suffer, or to a variety of other reasons. Whatever the reasons, it seems safe to assume that Catholic colleges are not receiving outside industrial support, not because they dislike such support, but because they have, so far, been unable to deliver the goods.

Supposing that scientific research existed in some quantity in Catholic colleges—which it doesn't—that research would still have to reach a certain level of excellence to qualify for outside assistance, whether industrial or governmental. Even if Catholic college research were confined to a few centers, it could, by maintaining high standards of quality, attract sufficient outside aid to become virtually self-supporting, perhaps even profitable. While there are only half enough Catholics in college and university teaching, as a previous article showed ("Needed: Catholic Scholars," Pleasants and Bauer, AMERICA, Aug. 3, 1946), and their publication output is low, these facts cannot alone account for the colleges' inability to rate industrial sponsorship. Nor can it be supposed that these Catholic faculties are too lacking in advanced degrees to be able to carry on research. The Reyniers-Bauer survey, in a cross-sectional study, found the following comparison of Catholic and non-Catholic school faculties in regard to the earning of degrees:

	Doctors	Masters	Bach.	No
Catholic colleges . . .	40%	28%	15%	17%
Non-Catholic colleges	51%	27%	5%	17%

The discrepancy in the number of Ph.D.'s may be distressing, but it cannot account for such a widespread inability of Catholic colleges to qualify for industrial aid. What seems to be lacking is a certain kind of faith, a willingness to gamble enough money on research to bring it up to that plane of excellence at which it can become partly or wholly self-supporting (like football). And this

is a strange lack to find among Catholics, who are, by definition, people capable of making present sacrifices for the sake of a future good.

We are going to make a revolutionary suggestion. It will apply, of course, only to scientific research. It is this: Instead of investing endowments in somebody's stocks and bonds, and then investing the resulting three or four per cent in research development, why not invest the *principal* in research, and let the research pay back the investment?

In other words, let us invest what money we have in our own expansion, rather than in the expansion of some corporation whose only claim to our support is that it yields a high rate of return. Thus, we can expand twenty or thirty times as fast as we could if we were investing only the *interest* from endowments in ourselves.

The NRC report proves that while poor-quality research is a permanent liability, high-quality research can become a positive asset. We now have ample proof that a real research institute, once under momentum, can begin to pay its own way. How much more information do we have to have before we can start acting?

## Notes from Paris

For a second time France has just voted on a new draft constitution. The first time the electors rejected the proposed draft by a slender majority, which was led by the MRP of Georges Bidault. This time they accepted it, again by a slender majority, the MRP (*Mouvement Républicain Populaire*) having passed over to the affirmative side.

The new Constitution represents progress over the first, but it is not yet really satisfactory to anyone; it is a compromise, accepted by the three major parties: Communists, Socialists and the MRP. During the first referendum the Communists and Socialists voted "yes" on the text proposed, and obtained 47 per cent of the votes cast. Logically, then, the new draft should have obtained a stronger majority, since the MRP voted "yes" also. But, in fact, the affirmatives obtained only 54 per cent of the votes cast. What is the reason? Many members of the MRP did not obey the instructions of their party; they refrained from voting (there were more than 30 per cent of abstentions from voting in this referendum), or they voted "no," preferring to follow the lead of General De Gaulle, who had clearly expressed his opinion.

There is then a conflict between General De Gaulle and the chiefs of the MRP. The general staff of the MRP thought it would be harmful to the country to refuse this compromise Constitution and leave France for another six or eight months in a state of instability which would hold up reconstruction, since the ministers of a provisional government have not enough time to organize their departments effectively, and many are paralyzed by the prospect of forthcoming elections. The decision of the MRP has this in its favor: a constitution is worth no more than the men who put it in practice. If the draft on which the people voted on October 12 is executed by

honest and able men, it will do. The constitution outlined by General De Gaulle, which would give extensive powers to the Executive, the President of the Republic, is theoretically good; but let the Communists get into power and such a constitution would be a boomerang to those who proposed it.

The important question, then, is not that of the Constitution, but of the legislative elections which are to take place. In other words, the only important matter is the struggle against communism. The MRP and the Communists made mutual concessions with regard to the Constitution, each with the ulterior idea that these concessions would the more readily help to crush the other. Which came off better? It is difficult to say yet. But, in any case, the Communists scored one point, for there was division in the ranks of the MRP on the occasion of the referendum, some trusting the tactical ability of their chiefs, others preferring a frontal attack on communism to such political strategy, and choosing to rally at once to the intransigent position which has been taken by General De Gaulle.

In the weeks between the referendum and the elections, it will be seen whether the MRP can marshal its divided ranks, maintain its place as the first party of France and keep the premiership; whether it will definitely lose the confidence of many of its members and, as a consequence, seats in parliament. In the latter event, the Communists would have the most seats in parliament and would demand the premiership. But that would avail them little, because it can be predicted that a Communist Premier could not obtain a majority in the Chamber and

could not form a government. Shall we see the formation of two blocs—the Communists and their sympathizers, and an anti-Communist coalition? That will be decided in the coming elections.

In point of fact, seen at close range, the "three-party formula" for trying to govern the country with the help of the three main parties is impractical and not to the country's best interests. Any sort of stable policy is impossible. Everything becomes a matter of bargaining and compromise. In the end nobody is satisfied and only the Communists profit, since it is to their interest to increase the country's sense of discontent. At present one or the other of the important ministries is in communist hands, such as the Ministry of Industrial Production. Anything you want to obtain in that field must pass through communist hands, and of course pledges must be given. The same is true in other areas.

Since they receive enormous sums from Russia, the Communists are able to carry on a tremendous propaganda, with complete disregard of expense. In spite of this, the Communist Party is losing in the industrial centers; but it continues to make progress in the country, where there are large estates. Among agricultural workers it is easy to inspire hopes based upon attractive advantages offered them.

The one steady and consoling feature amidst so much confusion is the extraordinary progress of Catholic Action. Where human beings are concerned, you will always find some mistakes. But these seem to be reduced to a minimum, and in any case they are compensated for by an amazing and fruitful vitality. JEAN MINERY

## *Can the annual wage be guaranteed?*

*Benjamin L. Masse*

*Can American business, acting alone, shift from an hourly to a guaranteed annual wage basis? If not, to what extent, and by what measures, can government aid toward that end be extended, without running the danger of destroying our traditional system of free enterprise?*

This article is based on two assumptions. The first is that the guaranteed annual wage is good for the worker, for the employer and for the economy as a whole. The second is that American business, acting alone, cannot in the foreseeable future shift from an hourly to a guaranteed annual wage basis.

Of these assumptions the second will be readily granted by most of our employers. The first will be widely questioned.

Some employers fear the effect of guaranteed annual wages on plant efficiency and discipline. They feel that the "guarantee" will encourage laziness, irresponsibility and inefficiency. One employer put the matter this way: "I believe that industry should strive to regularize employment. I believe that it must do more to avoid seasonal shutdowns and other interruptions in production than it has done in the past. I believe that workers should have steady jobs the year round at good wages. But I do not believe in the "guaranteed" annual wage. I just don't believe such guarantees are good for human nature."

This employer also believes—and his belief is shared by many others—that the guaranteed annual wage involves rigidities which will handicap him in exercising managerial functions and retard business in making adjustments in a constantly changing economy.

Let us suppose, then, that these objections can be answered and proceed on the assumption, as expressed by Eric Johnston, former President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, that "the demand for wages by the year is a natural one"; or, as stated by Bishop Shiel, that "the guaranteed annual wage for the workingman is just; it is socially necessary . . . ; it is a democratic imperative."

That the state has the duty to assist individuals and groups in achieving useful and desirable objectives which they cannot accomplish alone is a sound principle of social ethics. It is also in complete accord with the letter of the American Constitution and with our practice in the past—for instance, government subsidies to the railroads. Therefore, if the assumptions at the head of this

article are correct, the state has a right and an obligation to help American industry and labor shift from an hourly to an annual wage basis. It must not, however, so intervene to accomplish this as to impose unwise or unnecessary restrictions on private enterprise. Industry and labor must be helped to help themselves, not to commit suicide by surrendering their freedom to a benevolent slave state.

About two years ago, following considerable discussion with interested parties, the writer concocted a scheme for government assistance to annual-wage plans which certainly avoided compulsion and appeared to avoid as well any undue interference either with our market economy or with the individual employer. The proposal was published in the April 28, 1945, issue of this Review. From parties concerned in labor, management and government came a number of suggestions and criticisms, and the discussion has continued to this day. Since the article is now out of print, and requests for it will come in, I should like to sketch the plan again. It is put forward, of course, as a very tentative proposal, in the hope that it may possibly serve as a basis for some further discussion.

In its essence the plan involves an application of the insurance principle to wage payments. Indeed, the idea for it came originally from a study of the very successful Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The scheme is very simple and would require a minimum of red tape and, at the worst, only one tiny new Federal agency, so tiny that even Senator Byrd might be persuaded not to object on grounds of economy.

It is proposed that the Government underwrite annual wages. The Congress might enact a law stating simply that the Federal Government pledges itself to guarantee up to eighty-five per cent any annual-wage contract which labor and management, as a result of collective bargaining, freely make, or any like commitment which an employer might make to his unorganized employees. The administration of the law could be committed to an agency especially created for the purpose, or be vested in some existing agency or department of the Government.

Several things should be noted about this proposal.

1. There is no governmental compulsion of any kind on industry to assume the obligation of putting wages on an annual basis. It is easy to see, of course, that such a law would put a new weapon in labor's arsenal; but this adds up only to a difference of degree. Labor is already preparing to use its organized strength to compel management to pay annual wages.

2. Under the proposal the Government would underwrite something less than the employer's full liability. If the full liability were guaranteed, profits would be guaranteed. Thus the plan would be subject to all the criticisms brought against schemes to underwrite profits, namely, that they encourage inefficiency, promote rigidity and interfere with the movements of investment capital which result from shifting consumer demand, competition, technological changes and the rise of new industries. The guarantee should be sufficiently attractive to

persuade employers to try annual wages, but not so attractive as to remove all risk. Eighty-five per cent of the liability was suggested as the proper figure because it seemed to fulfil these criteria. Perhaps it should be eighty per cent, or ninety. After hearings on the bill, Congress could set the figure in accord with the best opinion.

3. The extent of the coverage has been deliberately left vague. In order to qualify for a government guarantee, should an employer be expected to have his entire work force on an annual-wage basis, or only some stated proportion as a minimum? If the scheme is to have the desired effect on the economy, the vast majority of those employed in the basic industries ought to be covered. Perhaps employers should be expected to have eighty per cent of their normal work force on annual wages before qualifying for the guarantee. But this detail could also be settled by Congress after all the testimony has been taken.

4. Even though the Agency administering the annual-wage law would be forced to extend the guarantee automatically on the signing of a collective-bargaining agreement, there does not seem to be any danger of labor-management collusion. The fact that industry is liable to a certain percentage of the annual-wage bill would prevent management from going overboard. Collective bargaining would proceed pretty much as it does now, with the men on both labor and industry sides of the table as wary and hard-headed as usual.

It has been suggested that the Government agency hire experts whose approval of the collective-bargaining agreement would be a condition for granting the guarantee. I disagree with this proposal, since it would amount to governmental wage-fixing and destroy the fundamental idea of the plan, which is to have the Government help labor and industry to help themselves. If the scheme has any merit, it lies precisely in this, that it reconciles the demand for wage security with legitimate economic freedom.

5. It might well be that the plan would cost the Government much less than it has spent in the past on relief, public works and on the stabilization of agricultural prices. In the event of a major breakdown, with unemployment as high as it was during the 1930's, it would, of course, cost billions, but then the plan is intended to contribute toward avoiding just such breakdowns. (In such a case, government spending for relief and public works would be enormous anyhow.) To the extent that depressions are attributable to a decline in effective economic demand, which is defined as human needs and desires *plus* adequate purchasing power, the payment of wages on an annual basis ought to provide an element of stability which our economy does not now possess.

Under ordinary conditions, the Government might be required to make good on its guarantee only in a limited number of cases, and then only to a partial degree. It might have to pay eighty-five per cent of the wage bill for only a small minority of the insured firms, and for only a minority of employees in any one firm, and in that case only for a few weeks or months. There is no

reason either why a firm which runs into stormy weather should not be required, when the skies clear, to repay what the Government has advanced.

6. The question arises whether a firm which has adopted the guaranteed annual-wage plan should be exempted for the life of the agreement from the unemployment-insurance tax. This possibility calls for investigation and should not be summarily rejected. If the Government feels that workers should be covered by unemployment insurance, even though they are being paid wages by the year, to prevent their becoming charges on the public at some future date, then the workers might be required to pay the full cost of the premiums out of their annual wage. Certainly, in the event they become unemployed during the life of the annual-wage contract, they would not receive unemployment benefits.

7. Many economists are convinced that government spending is necessary to halt the periodical downswing in the economic cycle. Even businessmen agree that when unemployment reaches a certain point, the Government must intervene with a program of public works. No doubt, some public works are necessary and useful, and their construction is a responsibility of the Federal Government. But from the viewpoint of maintaining a system of private enterprise, government expenditures ought to be directed as much as possible through consumer rather than investment channels. Government underwriting of annual-wage plans would accomplish this and would have, I believe, the least possible effect of all spending plans on the free working of the market mechanism.

8. The guaranteed annual wage, it must be recognized, is not presented as a panacea for all our economic ills. The answer to such complex problems as industrial unrest and violent ups and downs in the economic cycle cannot by the nature of the thing be simple. Continuity of income is certainly important, but so are foreign trade and the relationship existing between agricultural and industrial prices and the price-profit-wage formula which Walter Reuther forced on the attention of the country last year.

There is, however, fairly wide agreement on the desirability of regularizing employment as a step in the right direction. The controversy now is over the means of bringing this about. Even so conservative an organization as the National Association of Manufacturers favors developing plans which will regularize production, and through the regularization of production bring about uninterrupted income for the workers. In the NAM's concept, the worker will receive not a guaranteed annual wage, but fifty-two weekly pay checks a year. Perhaps it is possible for industry, unassisted by government, to arrive at this desirable goal, but not in the foreseeable future. The point is that we may not have whatever time this gradual approach might require. A major depression within the next decade could conceivably destroy our system of private enterprise, and so could the intensification of present industrial unrest. The argument for government assistance is that it would enable industry to do now what it wants to do anyhow but has no hope of doing in the near future.

## *Spoiled! But how?*

*Charles J. Sullivan*

It is the rule and not the exception that the halls of the school during class time are quiet. High-school pupils can, when they want to, act with a decorum that could be copied by many an adult. The school with which I am at present connected is fortunate in having acquired a tone which encourages the student body to act like ladies and gentlemen. Used to the peaceful atmosphere of this home of learning, I was more than a little disturbed the other morning when sounds of running, a scuffle, and shouts came pouring in through my office door. Here was, of a certainty, a situation that needed immediate attention. It was but a step or two to the cause of the commotion; and there, livid with anger, his feet braced far apart, shaking a pointed finger and shouting "Nobody is going to tell me what to do, not here or anywhere else," was a husky boy of perhaps fifteen. He had come down a stairway marked for up traffic. He had come down that stairs over the protest of other students and two squad-boys. The squad-boys had cornered him outside my office as he sought to escape by running through the crowded halls.

Herding the three of them over to one side I learned that his name was John ——, a fourth-term student and a recent admission to the school. When I requested that he step into my office I met with: "You nor anyone else is going to lay the law down to me, so why should I go in your office?" I must have looked like an American moving up the beach on D-day as I took a step toward him. Fortunately he broke ground and did as he was told. He was several inches taller than I, and as heavy—if not a little heavier. I sometimes wonder what will happen the day one of these fellows doesn't give ground. Perhaps the good Lord makes the champion of the right seem bigger in their eyes than he really is.

John was not acting out of character when he pushed his way down the stairs. He was the same John who had disrupted the library the previous afternoon when he insisted on being first in line, though he was the last to arrive. He might be described as "fresh," "spoiled," "selfish," "anti-social." It matters little what word you use to describe the boy's actions; the fact remains that the boy and others like him want what they want when they want it and insist on getting it.

Just how do boys and girls get that way? Over-indulgent parents, tired parents, parents well-versed in the catch phrases of child psychology, parents spoiled by their own parents—these are the factors that contribute to giving us what we call the spoiled child.

A week later John was in hot water again. It seems that he tried to bolt the lunch-room line. In a very polite, if steady, voice a little fellow objected. John interpreted this courtesy as weakness and proceeded to shove. The next thing anyone knew, there was a sound like a fly-swatter hitting the wall and a second sound of a pillow being thumped; the third sound was a dull thud

as John suddenly sat upon the floor. That little fellow had come through with a well-aimed "one-two," and by the time John reached my office he had a fine "shiner."

The next day John's mother was camped on my doorstep when I arrived in the morning. "What kind of a school is this? I never had trouble with John before he came to this school! Who is this boy who attacked my John? I certainly believe something should be done about this." Showing John's mother written statements by several students and a teacher who had witnessed the catastrophe made no impression on her. She continued her demands that I call in the police and have the monster arrested who had attacked her darling. At the end of my patience, I remarked rather sharply: "In America, we believe in fair play, and no person has the right to force others to do what he wants. Little bullies, embryo dictators, do not belong here, even in a juvenile category." That brought her to her senses, and she immediately began to excuse John's action by saying that he had been seriously ill when he was nine and that the family had pampered him. "Very well," I continued, "but his sickness and your care of him have nothing to do with this situation. He must live with other people than you and his father, and he must learn to play the game fairly. Perhaps that black eye will be just the medicine he needs."

John's mother had just explained: "John has been so ill. . . ." Mother seemed on the brink of making the disturbing discovery that John was a spoiled brat and that she had made him that way. This seemed a good time to mention what had happened outside my office several days previous, also the episode that took place in the library. I explained to her that John was banned from the library for the next three weeks, reports or no reports, and I had instructed his teachers to refuse to excuse him from any of the class assignments. The public library would have to serve. Mother went away in a half-chastened mood. John went back to class realizing that here, at least, was one place where even mother could not prevail.

I was just settling back to routine when John's father appeared on the scene. He, poor man, was glad about everything. His was a sad story. He knew now, much too late, that he had spoiled his bride, and in doing that he had eventually become the father of a spoiled child. John was his mother's son and was always right.

Situations similar to this exist in many homes. When there is a lack of harmony between parents the child often becomes a pawn. He is right, even when he knows he is wrong, because defending him enables one parent to place the other at a disadvantage.

The father was delighted with the idea that the boy would be on probation for two months. Here was a situation that was beyond his wife's control and, fortunately, beyond his control also, for he loved his wife and would do anything to make her life happy. John was no "dope." He had plans for college, and removal of library privileges coupled with a threat of suspension from classes—should he forget himself again—brought him face to face with the fact that the school was bigger

than he. John toed the mark because he had to. He knew from sad experience that he could no longer "get away" with it; consequently he came to act like the other boys.

The spoiled child gets that way through the teaching of an older person, usually a parent or some other person in charge of the child. He was made into a spoiled child by being allowed to "get away" with everything and anything. This produces a person who is not pleasant to know; and from the point of view of morality, it was downright immoral for those responsible to raise such a child in such a way.

(Charles J. Sullivan is associated with the Guidance Organization of a large secondary school in Yonkers, N. Y.)

## Looking ahead

The U. S. weather, so we are informed, is shaped up somewhere in the Aleutian Islands. But a good deal of the world's political and social weather—in other words, the world's history—continues to be brewed, for better or worse, in France. Since *Father Jean Minéry, S.J.*, of the Paris *Action Populaire*, is a trained observer of the current scene who spent some time under our AMERICA roof, we suggested to him that AMERICA readers might enjoy an occasional Paris letter. Not too philosophical, and not only about Paris, but what a good man may notice if he uses his eyes a bit in observing the trend of things in France. You will find his first letter in this issue.

The voice you have heard over the radio on the Catholic Hour, for October 6, 13, 20, 27, was that of AMERICA's Labor Editor, *Father Benjamin Masse*. You will remember he dwelt upon the sanctity of the human family and our moral duty to provide the economic conditions which enable the family to live with the decency God intends for it. In present circumstances an essential pledge of such conditions is the "guaranteed annual wage," which Father Masse is discussing in this issue.

This week *Father J. Edward Coffey, S.J.*, of the AMERICA Staff, inquires into the "moult" which is taking place in European socialism, while next week *Erwin Niederberger* will study, in "Christian Humanism and the Liberal Split," the crossroads at which American Liberals have arrived, a result hastened by the Wallace incident.

We already promised, in a previous issue, a coming article by *Father Gustav Gundlach, S.J.*, of the Gregorian University in Rome, on the moral aspects of the Nuremberg verdicts. This will appear next week, along with a corollary article on the same topic by the *Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, S.J.*, Vice President of Georgetown University and Dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, who took an active part in the Nuremberg trials as a Consultant for the American members of the Court. It is the opinion of both of these writers, both men of unusual competence and experience, that the Nuremberg trials, despite their evident failings and inadequacies, offer an important contribution to the growth of international law and justice.

## Mr. Cain's time-bomb

I have delayed so long in trying to give you a blueprint of the bomb Mr. James M. Cain planted under the literary world some months ago, because I had hoped, to be frank, that the bomb-disposal squad would by this time have carted the tick-tocking thing away, pulled it to pieces in a bucket of oil and let us know just what was in it. They haven't, so I must try to explain it a bit.

There are, as you may know, various guilds in the country, whose job it is to give writers of various types some sort of organized protection—to crusade for increased royalties, for more efficient copyright, etc. One of these is the Screen Writers' Guild. In the July issue of their organ, *The Screen Writer*, Mr. Cain came out with a proposal which would, he thought, combine and forward the efforts of the various guilds, particularly the guilds of authors, screen writers, radio writers and dramatists.

This is necessary, says Cain, because writers are imposed on by theatrical producers, magazine editors and publishers. Not only do they have to submit to arbitrary rules, but they have to yield to editors a "senseless catalog of rights," for the protection, let us say, of the magazine; and to book publishers a high percentage of revenues from foreign sales, reprint, digest and other sources. In all, Cain feels, the poor author is being neatly gypped by the publishing gentry; Cain's three recent pictures, for example (*Mildred Pierce*, *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, *Double Indemnity*), grossed \$12 million for the movie industry, he claims, and only \$45,000 for himself, poor boy!

Well, to rectify these and still more horrid practices which I will not detail here, Cain has proposed his American Authors' Authority. He wants all the various writers' guilds to join in the formation of this Authority; then any individual member of any of the member guilds, upon having written something, would pass his work over to the Authority, which would copyright the work in its name for the author's benefit. It will refuse to copyright anything by an author who does not belong to the proper guild. It will then pass the author's work along to the proper channel—radio, movies, magazines and so on—not by means of sale, but by lease; and the lease will not be granted unless the lessors comply "with the basic agreements of the guilds." Screen writers belonging to the guild, for instance, will not be allowed to work on a magazine story that has not come to them through the Authority, and thus it will come about that "every writer in the country hoping for picture or magazine sale [will be compelled] to send his work to the Authority for copyright before the magazines or pictures get it."

But this is not all; the Authority would levy a tax on

members to provide social security in the form of annuities; it would maintain a million-dollar lobby at Washington to battle for better copyright laws, reduction of income tax for writers, and so on.

What is to be said about it all? First, it is a program that is confused and confusing and still in a state of viscous flux. Meetings are even now going on in New York, with an opposition group, the American Writers Association, formed explicitly to stop Mr. Cain and his cohorts in their tracks. They will probably continue fighting for some time, and the Cain plan has already undergone some small modification under the barrage of criticism.

But the scheme, as it was originated, is foolish and dangerous. Many charges that it is communist-sponsored have been hurled about, but I prefer not to go into them. It is true that the *New Masses* cheers approvingly, but that may be simply a matter of having embarrassing friends.

What is of importance is that the plan paves the way clearly for regimentation of writers and their ideas. If the various member guilds of the Authority are communist today or become so tomorrow, their work alone will be accepted by the Authority for copyright, and no publisher, producer, editor who is not in sympathy will be allowed to lease it. The same would hold if some other "ism" than communism were the danger; it might be a recrudescence of isolationism, it might be racism. Whatever it might be, the Authority, with its concentrated power and its lobby, would be able to force authors and those to whom their work is leased into one rigid mold.

Further, as Harry Lorin Binsse well points out in a much longer discussion in the Oct. 18 *Commonweal*, the scheme is a bit of superfluous grandiosity. What injustices there still are

in treatment of authors can be handled by the already-existing guilds, and, as a matter of fact, conditions of contract, covering royalties, rights and other returns authors are properly concerned about, are quite steadily ameliorating among all reputable publishers, producers and editors.

It is to be feared that Mr. Cain, in an effort to brush the crumbs from the dining-room table, seeks to use a bulldozer; more, he would put at its controls a "tough mugg" (Mr. Cain?), who could well fly into a totalitarian tantrum and wreck the table and the dining-room and, indeed, pull down on our authors' heads the whole literary house of freedom of speech and thought.

H. C. G.

## Quebec letter

Europe bewildered, Europe afflicted, Europe ashamed, still distributes from a plenteous hamper intellectual and artistic stores. The neatest, the newest, the gayest ordination cards we saw this year came from the abbeys of Maredsous or Ermelot in Belgium; while studious and reflective France is a continuous fountain of now indispensable, now irresistible books.

*Des petits Bateaux qui jouent sur l'eau*, by Joy Walda, was launched before the war, but five years of troubled waters precluded its arrival in a Canadian port until this spring. Because it is French, and because it has managed at last to traverse the Atlantic, and because it pleases us, we may say that the book was a present to Canada; but in the mind of the author it seems rather to have been a present to Eire. Almost all the characters are Irish—Irishmen of so pure and exalted a stamp that the most punctilious son of Erin would have little difficulty in recognizing himself in any of them, or in all.

Patrick MacFency was a valiant captain who, having made a fortune in the States, would have been completely happy but for a bitter disappointment in love and the massacre of his entire family by the Black and Tans. Seeking release from so much chagrin in a vagabond cruise, he chanced one day in mid-Atlantic to sight an expertly-fashioned toy boat, bearing a tender and cryptic message, and treading with sure and engineless speed a secret current of the sea. This tiny craft, the captain deduced, had come from Ireland, while its port and post-office—the source of other north-bound boats of reply—was, he was later to discover, an uncharted storm-girt isle situated where the cold current of the Pacific ocean and the warm current of the Atlantic ocean meet. Obviously (for this is an adventure story) Captain MacFency visited that island, but what or whom he found upon it remains, until you read the book, the secret of the little boat.

*Des petits Bateaux* is published in the *Collection Horizons*, a series of adventure tales for Scouts, but it is a book of puissant charm to find or create its audience anywhere. The oldest and most honorable will be glad to put off the burden of dignity and years for the brief space of time it takes to read it. A little like *Robinson Crusoe* in theme, a little like *Treasure Island* in the exquisite beauty of its style, it is very different from either of them in the sparkle of positive purity and the radiance of Christian faith. Some of MacFency's reflections upon Divine Providence, inspired by the operation of the seas, are little gems of poetic and religious wisdom. A long and noble symbolic poem is included as an appendix to the novel.

The conclusion is inescapable. This simple tale must be at once translated, or (only possible alternative) all little Americans taught at once to read French, and given it for their birthdays. (Desclée, de Brouwer. \$1.25)

Another precious packet from abroad this summer contained the *Exercices Spirituels* of the famous Jesuit preacher and professor, Pinard de la Boullaye. Three volumes of a projected four or five have already ap-

peared. The first, a brief introductory *plaquette* of 68 pages, is a study of the genesis and historical development of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola. *Tome Premier, Les Exercices* (314 pages) is a series of notes upon the exercises in their definitive form, with special emphasis upon those *idées maîtresses* or key-notions which controlled the choice and disposition of the various meditations. By thus distinguishing what is accidental from what is essential, the author hopes "to supply the rules of a solid exegesis for retreat-masters who adhere closely to the text of the Exercises, with some principles of judicious adaptation for those who, for whatever reasons, feel obliged to depart from it." *Tome Second: Retraites et Triduum* illustrates precept by example, in presenting two masterly eight-day retreats, already given by Pinard de la Boullaye. At least one other eight-day retreat and some *tridua* will appear in forthcoming volumes. The existing set of three volumes is published by Gabriel Beauchesne et fils, and sells for \$2.75.

*Le Survenant*, Mme. Suèvremont's prize-winning novel, discussed in these pages last winter, can now be had either in the original Canadian edition or in that of France, where it has been reissued in Paris by Plon. Among the many letters of acclaim came one from the philosopher, Gabriel Marcel. Meanwhile the author continues to labor in the preparation of her eagerly-awaited *Tome Deux*. "The whole plan of the book is finished," she explains. "So I do not proceed like a bricklayer adding chapter to chapter, but like a painter who, having completed his design, pauses to work in the details now here, now there."

Canada's popular *Quatuor Alouette* is not the only group of four men in Quebec with an ear for the songs that hikers sing along the highway, oarsmen on the waters. Perhaps they sing them with a little more polish than the rest of us—in any case they are the ones who have been asked to make an album for Victor. So if you are curious to hear a selection of four or five out of Quebec's four or five thousand enchanting airs, perhaps in lieu of a change of clime, playing these records will be as satisfactory a way as any. One number of this pocket repertoire is the famous old melody *A la Claire Fontaine* of which Louis Hémon speaks in *Maria Chapdelaine*. The plaintive and apparently irrelevant refrain of this song, "il y a longtemps que je t'aime, jamais je ne t'oublierai," was understood by the habitants after the conquest to express their unalterable, secret attachment to France. It is still sung in Quebec, and perhaps with a trace of the same nostalgia still. An English translation of the songs is provided inside the cover; regrettably the French text is not. This, however, is readily accessible in a dozen albums.

The last week of July was distinguished by five performances of *Le Pain Dur*, by Paul Claudel, featuring Mme. Ludmilla Pitoëff and a Montreal cast. This play, the second of a trilogy, had been presented but once before, by the same actress, at Geneva. Mme. Pitoëff will return this winter to play again for the Parisians in the Théâtre Hébertot. PATRICK MARY PLUNKETT

# Books

## The Way of Dictators

### BY VOTE OF THE PEOPLE

By *Willis J. Ballinger*. Scribner. 358p. \$3

### AFTER HITLER STALIN?

By *Robert Ingram*. Bruce. 247p. \$3

Here are two stimulating and thought-producing books which explore the chief problems before the American people today, concerned as it is with labor troubles, shortages and production difficulties at home and the Russian enigma in the field of foreign affairs. Despite the fact that the former volume is an attack upon "the New Deal's sacred cow of government spending" and the latter cannot be construed as favorable to the existing regime in Russia, neither book is essentially negative in character. Both are basically positive in their approach to a solution of the difficulties they endeavor to solve.

Mr. Ballinger's studies have convinced him that governments perish as a result of economic causes. The first half of his book is devoted to a proof of this belief. He carefully examines eight free governments of a democratic and capitalistic type which declined and fell within the last 2,500 years. Athens and the Third French Republic were easy targets for enemies owing to their internal economic conditions. Venice fell through a conspiracy engineered by a fraudulent clique of wealthy traders and industrialists. Rome, Florence, the France of the First Republic, Germany's Weimar Republic and pre-Mussolini Italy all succumbed "by vote of the people." In each instance, the citizens voted themselves into slavery in the mistaken belief that a strong government would remedy economic conditions.

Ballinger's main concern is contemporary America, which occupies the rest of his pages. The book is dedicated to the proposition "that political liberty is possible only in a soundly functioning capitalistic economy." The United States is the last hope of such a system, but this nation has so far failed to recover from the depression of 1929 which was caused, not by any weakness in our capitalistic system but rather by "misoperation." The years 1933-39 saw an attempt to cure the malady

through recourse to Government spending. The New Deal's "lavish public spending" was not accompanied by any careful program designed to get the nation's system properly functioning again. Its spending aggravated the difficulties, increased the power of monopoly, and solidified the New Deal's political power.

Despite the failure to correct the situation, Mr. Ballinger feels that it is not yet too late although "the drift toward disaster has been unmistakable" and the recent war has only made things worse. Capitalism, then, has not failed. It is merely unproductive presently due to the "misoperation" which characterized the period of 1860-1929 during which monopoly in industry increased at a fantastic rate and brought about an unequal concentration of wealth and income. The New Deal's spending policy, aimed at increasing purchasing power, produced a vicious circle wherein prices were high. Instead of eradicating the evil of monopoly in industry, the doctors of the New Deal succeeded only in bringing about an increased amount of monopoly with the driving of small business to the wall.

Trade unionism was prostituted, says the author, because of its alliance with New Deal politics. Wages were increased but were offset by price increases and a vicious circle resulted. "Competition alone provides effective machinery for adjusting wages and prices to levels which permit full production and employment. There is no other workable method for achieving this end in a capitalistic economy. It cannot be done by force or on an arbitrary basis." Unionism lacks the ability to determine fair wages.

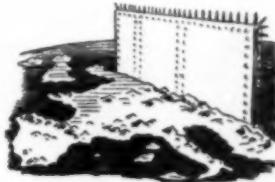
Competition then is the key. Restore it and there will be stabilization of trade and commerce. We must stress our domestic trade and economy and not the world market. Free trade is illusory. With these points, the reviewer finds himself in disagreement. They are well-calculated, despite the author's protests to the contrary, to bring about a return to autarchy and its resultant stagnation in world trade. The anti-trust laws must be revived and armed with effective penalties. The personnel to enforce them must be adequately financed. Small business must reappear in the American economy. Competition must be restored on the level of labor for the good of all. Credit needs to be freed. Patent law must be reformed. Taxation must be reduced and made more equitable, as must freight rates.

The building industry should eliminate numerous existing practices which make low-cost housing impossible. Finally, reform in all economic fields must be the special concern of "a commission which will sit continuously a number of years." These are the solutions proposed.

It should perhaps be noted that this book contains a foreword by John Chamberlain, a none-too-inspiring bibliography, several interesting appendices, and an adequate index.

Unlike Mr. Ballinger, whose background and experience are largely American and who recently went overseas as a Major in the Third Army, Dr. Ingram came to this country after long experience as a foreign correspondent for a number of European newspapers and is now an American citizen.

Ingram pictures communism as merely the latest in a long series of events which has beset Europe ever since the Reformation. Coupled with an overdose of nationalism, this experienced European native and observer blames socialism for the ills of the continent.



With penetrating insight, he has analyzed events leading up to the recent global holocaust. His knowledge of history has stood him in good stead and stamps his writing with objectivity. However, it should be observed that he does labor under the delusion that "history repeats itself," whereas the fact of the matter is that one of the first lessons the historian learns is that it does not in fact repeat itself. Of course, there will be numerous historical parallels to be drawn from history's pages, and Dr. Ingram is on firm ground here.

Following his account of the background of the war, the author has recounted some of the diplomatic highlights of the conflict. The result of his preliminary work was to bring Russia into focus as the question mark of the present. Ingram feels that it is a particularly bitter tragedy (and many agree with him) that in the erasure of the German and Japanese menaces, a more potent aggressor has fallen heir to their threat to the peace. He thinks Russia so powerful that the world desperately needs "the elaboration and

maintenance of a common American-British foreign policy" to offset this Slavic strength. Stalin can be checked by "a relentless diplomatic counter-offensive, carefully concerted between Washington and London." Should it fail, he cries "may God have mercy on us." THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

### Little History Makers

#### LOST MEN OF AMERICAN HISTORY

By Stewart H. Holbrook. Macmillan. 370p. \$3.50

This is the most delightful disentombment of neglected historical figures since Irving Stone's *They Also Ran*. Some of the corpses are awarded posthumous honorary degrees for achievement. Others are dragged forth for an overdue and deserved beating. The ghoulish feature of the performance is mitigated by the reader's enjoyment of Mr. Holbrook's literary style, which is a fusion of glittering pyrotechnics, mordant wit and, at times, cold, naked cynicism.

The author believes that the writers of American history have concentrated too much on the prominent people and on the striking and large events. Equally the stuff of history, he feels, are many apparently less impressive events, and numerous relatively less important persons.

So we are told of the unnamed hero who, in 1638, built the first American log cabin, thus providing the material for one of the chief ingredients of American democratic symbolism; of America's only female soldier of the Revolution — Deborah Sampson, "a rather startling amazon from Massachusetts," (p. 55); of Sergeant Ezra Lee who, in 1776, navigated in (mildly successful) combat the first American submarine vessel; of Robert Gibbon Johnson who, in 1820, when tomatoes were believed to be as poisonous as arsenic, ate one publicly on the steps of a court house in New Jersey, before a large crowd, and inaugurated a new national industry; of Frederic Tudor, who invented the ice business in America; of an obscure white man named Jehudi Ashmun and a Negro slave called Denmark Vesey, who were perhaps the most important persons in the United States in the decade before the Civil War; of Joseph Palmer who in the eighteen-thirties won for Americans the right to wear beards; of Lieutenant Thaddeus Sobieski Coulincourt Lowe, the United States Army, pioneer

in aerial reconnaissance in 1861-65; and of many other men and women who did various picturesque and rather trivial things, which, on reflection, appear much more important.

Some of the forgotten or half-forgotten people richly merit the resurrection so deftly provided by Mr. Holbrook. Dorothea Lynde Dix fought throughout a long lifetime to secure humane treatment for the insane. Samuel Gridley Howe, "who might have been better remembered if his wife, Julia Ward, had not written *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*," opened in 1851 the first school for the blind in the United States. Josiah Holbrook of Connecticut founded the American Lyceum movement, which, the author assures us, went in for really strong meat in the form of lectures by Emerson, Louis Agassiz and Horace Mann, and avoided (we are still quoting the author) the later Chataqua proclivity for "bell ringers, jubilee singers, preachers, William Jennings Bryan and assorted stuffed shirts" (p. 133). Oliver Hudson Kelley, a native of Boston, established with William Saunders in 1867 the first National Grange, the organization which in the 1870s represented more than any other force the popular defense against the reigning plutocracy.

The section on Horatio Alger and his relation to the "Robber Baron" era of our history, is the most brilliantly written of these truly fascinating chapters. The post-Civil War period, as the author observes in a gorgeous understatement, was "a . . . period in which the leaders of American thought and action might have directed things differently, and to the advantage of far greater numbers of Americans" (p. 223). The *Social Statics* of Herbert Spencer had been erected into an ornate screen to veil decently the astounding activities of the American industrial buccaneers. *Laissez-faire*, with all its ominous implications for the common man, was in full and poisonous bloom—"Alger, and Alger almost alone . . . brought the philosophy of the whole Spencerian school to the proletariat of America . . . Alger did not call it *laissez faire*. He called it *Upward and Onward*" (p. 229).

In such distillations of luscious tripe as *Ragged Dick*, *Mark the Match Boy*, et al., the eccentric little man who could write 80,000 words in three days and then sit down again and write 80,000 more, put the economic doctrine of untrammeled individualism on the

side of the angels. He showed that the system must be right because any poor boy, by working hard, being reasonably honest, taking baths, and being polite to Successful Men, could become a millionaire and marry the boss' daughter to boot. Mr. Holbrook thinks that Alger was the most influential American writer during the last half of the nineteenth century, and the claim is not too bold.

The second best part of this book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the one on the figures of the Harding Administration, if it may be called that.

After being for a few hours so pleasantly subjected to these radioactive pages, one is not in a critical mood. Yet it must be noted that the author has unnecessarily marred his best chapter by the amazing statement that "morals and ethics are not immutable qualities of either Good or Bad . . . There are *styles* in morals and ethics, just as there are styles in clothing . . ." (p. 223, italics the author's). The obscure and uncompleted remark that "Christianity was Oriental" (p. 225) should, also, have been left unsaid.

Nor it is quite clear to the reviewer why Sam Adams is included in this catalog of Snubbed Personages of American history. Sam, as Mr. Holbrook would admit, was no man to permit himself to be forgotten by anybody; and if American historians had really tried to bury his memory, he would probably have haunted them with his ghost. Furthermore, the author, it would seem, it less than fair to the great agitator of the Revolution, and too severe on the Revolution itself. Adams may have been ruthless and tricky, as Mr. Holbrook tells us he was, and he may have deliberately staged the battle of Lexington, which, incidentally, turns out in these pages not to have been a battle at all; but, after all, the Americans did have some very just grievances, and it is useless to try to prove that the whole struggle was a mere triumph of propaganda. Here, as also in his analysis of Southern pre-Civil War culture, the author is possibly a bit too cynical and, consequently, a bit blind to some of the facts.

Underlying the fireworks there is a very good point to this book: history will always be made by men as well as by "forces," economic or otherwise. More surprising, history is often made by men who, in their day, receive a poor press.

J. T. DURKIN

THE BRERETON DIARIES

By Lewis H. Brereton, Lieutenant General, U.S.A. Morrow. 450p. \$4.

This book has already received considerable front page publicity because General Douglas MacArthur has questioned the accuracy of some of its statements. Attention has thus been focused upon the account given by General Brereton of the events that took place in the Philippines on December 8, 1941, when waves of Japanese planes destroyed most of the air force we had on Luzon. Actually, there is much more in the book than an account of fighting in the Philippines. Although the author was in the Philippines in November-December 1941, he also saw service in Australia and in Java in the early months of 1942, and then went to India later in 1942, then to North Africa, which he left in September 1943, when he went to England, and later to France, where he remained until May 1945. Hence the general saw service in widely separated air theatres, and in each of them he made the notations in his diaries which serve as the basis of the book.

Returning to the Philippine incident for a moment, the reader may have seen MacArthur's denial of Brereton's that he (Brereton) had asked MacArthur for permission to bomb Formosa as soon as the attack on Pearl Harbor was made known to the air force at Clark field, and that this permission was not given until nearly six hours later, just as the Japanese planes came over in waves and wrecked the planes and installations at the field. Whether any other denials will be made of Brereton's statements in other matters, remains to be seen. In general, the account seems to be very straightforward. Brereton admits that for some days before Pearl Harbor the air forces in the Philippines expected an attack. As an Army officer he does not openly question the wisdom of the Washington officials who submitted what was actually an ultimatum to Japan on November 26, at which time the forces in the Philippines were not equipped for war. He admits that our air units in Palestine left much to be desired: "On inspection of the service group at Ryak I encountered the dirtiest, most undisciplined group of men I have yet seen in uniform"; he tells of the defective airplane engines that he saw at



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Cairo: "Inspection of the replacement engines for B-17 E's received from the States shows criminal neglect in preparing them for overseas shipment"; he writes at some length in favor of the ideas of Billy Mitchell; he is convinced that air attacks upon German industry and transportation made possible the sweeping advances by the infantry.

Other generals are frequently mentioned, and one becomes well acquainted with the relation of Eisenhower and Montgomery to the work that Arnold, Brereton and others were accomplishing. As commander of the Ninth Air Forces toward the end of the war Brereton had a tremendous task, and he gives credit for what was accomplished to his helpers. It is quite likely that the contribution made by General Brereton to the literature of the war will be as important as his record as a commander.

PAUL KINIERY

## THE EPIC OF LATIN AMERICA

By John A. Crow. Doubleday. 756p. \$5

"A fascinating story of Latin America from her colorful beginnings—readable, exciting. . . ." Professor Crow has certainly fulfilled the promise of the blurb. In glowing language he tells of the magnificence—and degradation—of the pre-Columbian cultures. Mayan, Toltec, Inca and Aztec ways of life are skilfully reviewed and evaluated. The Spanish conquest is seen through his discerning eyes not as a war of extermination but rather, as it became in Mexico, a liberation from the bloody and oppressive tyranny of one Indian over another. The efforts of the Spanish government, the Church, particularly of the religious orders such as the Jesuits, to defend the Indians from white exploitation are given sympathetic treatment.

The chapters on the nineteenth-century revolutions against Spain are possibly the best part of the narrative. The forces of revolution in the colonies are shown to have been based chiefly upon economic and class distinctions—the Creoles against the *gachupines*, the natives against the foreign-born, the underprivileged against the aristocracy—which made the struggle take on, at times, the aspect of a civil war. A later chapter is notable for its honest evaluation of United States relations with Latin America. The rather sordid story of exploitation and intervention is reviewed. It is valuable reading for an American anxious to realize the ideal

of the Good Neighbor.

Finally, there is mention of the new invasion of Latin America. It is a cultural invasion. Business concerns, government agencies, traveling professors and private individuals in the last decade have intensified efforts to introduce the American way of life to Latin America. The project has not been altogether welcomed, and many Latin Americans regard the effort with outspoken hostility.

Professor Crow in his discussion of Latin-American culture shows little interest in these values, and therein lies a fundamental defect of his book. Any evaluation of Latin America is superficial which has little understanding of and no sympathy for the fundamental qualities of its culture. Professor Crow's preconceptions, for instance, do not permit him to see, as the Latin Americans very well saw, that it could be a far graver matter to be a heretic than a syphilitic, that a theological debate which decided that the Indian was a human being necessarily decided also that he must have rights in a court of law. Need we mention Dred Scott? It is superficial for the author to deny the merits of the colonial educational system because it laid "most of its stress on the elements of religion rather than on the elements of literacy," and to condemn colonial university training because "it only heightened this misconception of the cultured man," i.e. that he must also be a religious man. These ideological clichés reach something of a climax in the statement that Juarez instituted "a new era of religious tolerance" in Mexico. The author's point of view is a serious handicap to a scholarly work.

PAUL S. LIETZ

## MY BOYHOOD IN A PARSONAGE

By Thomas W. Lamont. Harper. 203p.  
\$2.50

One puts down his book wondering how a very successful Wall Street financier ever managed to develop in a small-town parsonage. Yet this is what Thomas W. Lamont did. Evidently there is something in a happy boyhood that makes for international-banking success. More power to it!

When the future Morgan partner was small Tommy Lamont, he lived frugally in the calm neighborhood of the Catskill Mountains and the upper Hudson River valley. The author affectionately describes these pre-atomic-bomb days of the closing decade of the

last century and makes them re-live attractively. Clearly he describes that boyhood home in various Methodist parsonages, when he writes:

Cheerfulness and a simple open-house hospitality were ever our lot. Always sustained by an implicit faith in the providence of God, and the goodness of man, both my parents were patient and firm in adversity, with a due sense of humility when things were going well, and infinite tolerance for the shortcomings of others. They were of the school that has firm conviction that in this world good is finally more powerful than evil and, despite all setbacks, will in the heart of man finally prevail.

The author's pen-pictures of his generous father and his gay mother are appealing. Money had its small place, for he dug out of an old diary that in 1879 his father's annual income was \$1,162.38 and the family's annual expenses \$1,134.05. That last five cents recalls the time that Tommy's weekly allowance was just that. He sagely remarked how quickly the pennies went, when he broke that nickel.

One of the charms of this autobiography of a boyhood is a full account of Tommy acquiring a lifelong love for reading. Old favorite titles are recalled, and it is evident that a lot of Thomas W. Lamont's knack of excellent writing comes from this boyhood habit of good reading.

It may be suggested that Mr. Lamont would have been better advised had he put down his pen when he left the Methodist parsonage life and embarked on boarding-school days at Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard College. These episodes rightly belong to another book. And this goes for Mr. Lamont's thirty-seven pages of epilog.

NEIL BOYTON

#### TOUR OF DUTY

By John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin. 336p. \$3

Mr. Dos Passos, a veteran of World War I, left San Francisco for Waikiki in December, 1944, on the first leg of a journey that was to take him to many Pacific islands where our troops were stationed during the war. The second part of the book deals with his experiences in the Philippines, where he witnessed the liberation of Manila and had many revealing talks with Army officials, Filipino resistance leaders and former American civilian prisoners in the Catholic university of

# MEDITATIONS FOR SEMINARIANS

By Rev. Carlton A. Prindeville, C.M., S.T.D.

~ \$4.00 ~

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He modestly calls his work MEDITATIONS FOR SEMINARIANS. But priests will not find it amiss for their spiritual reflections.

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The story was an introduction to Father John LaFarge's brilliant and illuminating piece about Archbishop Stepinatz in last week's *America*.

The thing our readers keep praising us for is the remarkable up-to-dateness of *America's* articles. In last week's issue, for instance, our features covered the UN meeting, the French Constitution, and housing, as well as the persecuted Archbishop.

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Santo Tomás. The concluding part of the book contains Mr. Dos Passos' observations in Germany and Austria last year. With the exception of one page of smut, the concluding section is the most interesting part of the book because we learn "what it is like for a people to be beaten in war in the year nineteen hundred and forty-five of the Christian era."

What distinguishes this war correspondent's diary from a dozen similar books is Dos Passos' literary craftsmanship, his scrupulous objectivity and the stenographic quality of his reporting. It takes time to become accustomed to a not-very-exciting chronicle written by a professional guide who sees all, knows all and feels nothing. The reader will have the curious impression of being led around by the hand by a highly intelligent and wonderfully observant but insensitive robot.

In Mr. Dos Passos' uncongenial company we visit Kwajalein, Makin, Tarawa, Majuro and other Pacific atolls "no bigger than a peanut." We talk to men who really understand logistics, to pilots and missionaries, to medics and Military Government officials. We drink beer, sweat, watch a baseball game, and cool off in the trade winds. On the road to Manila we rub shoulders with young American officers, chaplains, resistance fighters, M. P.'s, Army public-relations experts, and a radio commentator. Nearly every building in downtown Manila is afire. Fighting is still going on in the city. We learn a few things about the Japanese occupation from native survivors, and then visit the oldtime Americans who outlasted the Japanese at Santo Tomás.

Germany almost got under the skin of Mr. Dos Passos, and a tepid warmth creeps into his otherwise glacial prose. The contrast between the luxury afforded occupation troops and the hopeless misery of the German people is repeatedly underscored, as is the homesick drifting of American civilians in uniform who still don't know what they are trying to do. Mr. Dos Passos goes so far as to say that Vienna is heartbreaking, that it is difficult to find a Russian to talk to, that he is unable to justify the Nuremberg trials, and that he was glad to get out of the immense ruin that is Berlin.

The book serves a valuable purpose in that it reminds us of our wartime achievements—an implied challenge to us to make the peace something better than a sleazy nightmare.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

## The Word

AS THE SPINNING FINGER OF the speedometer moved higher and higher until man actually traveled faster than the sound which accompanied his passage, the old, quiet virtue of patience receded into the status of a relic from a leisurely past.

Let the leader at a traffic light pause for a split second after the green displaces the red, and a volley of horns curses his clumsiness; citizens, otherwise sedate, despite increasing age and brevity of breath, have techniques for boarding a crowded subway car worthy of a professional fullback. It is no exaggeration to say that ours is a day not prominently marked by forbearance; the request of the gospel for the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost: "have patience," is engulfed in a whirlwind of impetuous selfishness.

The gospel is a contrast between "God's irresistible forgiving" and "man's inhumanity to man." It tells of the clement king who had consigned one of his insolvent servants to slavery because of a huge debt. The unfortunate debtor begged for mercy, and the king, relenting, "forgave him the debt."

Hardly out of the royal presence, the beneficiary of this kingly mercy met his own fellow servant who owed him a trifling sum, fell on him, demanded immediate payment and, deaf to the man's plea of poverty, threw him into prison. The king heard of the event and, angry with the merciless servant, seized him, revived the revoked debt and handed him over to the torturers until it should be paid in the full.

How often have we been the beneficiaries of God's munificent mercy and immortal patience; how often have we relapsed into sin, only to be forgiven and restored to favor? Suppose God had ever been as unforgiving to us as we, in turn, customarily are to our fellow men. We might have died in mortal sin and been hurled into hell. Yet our habitual attitude towards our neighbor continues to be one of petulance and impatience because we have never sufficiently meditated on the wondrous but frightening words of the Lord's prayer: "Forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors."

St. Cyprian, extolling the preeminence of charity, points out that it is the bond of brotherhood, foundation of peace, support of unity; that it is greater than faith and hope, that it will

endure throughout eternity. "But take away patience from it," he adds, "and it will not stand long alone; take away the power to bear and forbear, and its virtue and strength are gone."

Look into your own heart and find how many times the red rockets of impatience have exploded in your soul. Impatience gives rise to the sarcastic and scalding word; it expresses itself in profanity, it hardens into hatred. The intramural civil wars between husband and wife, between parent and offspring or brother and sister, could be prevented or concluded by the patience to which Paul was forever exhorting his disciples: "And we beseech you . . . be patient towards all men" (1 Thess. 5:14); "bear with one another and forgive one another . . . even as the Lord has forgiven you, so also do you forgive" (Col. 3:13).

As Paul intimates, the model in this and in all other virtues is Christ Our Lord patient through the formative, hidden years, preaching the doctrine of long-suffering mildness (Matt. 5:38), exemplifying it with His enemies (Matt. 17:16) and His friends (John 14:9), above all in His passion. "Unto this . . . you have been called, because Christ also has suffered for you, leaving you an example that you may follow in His steps . . . Who, when He was reviled did not revile . . ." (1 Peter 2:21).

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

## Theatre

**THE ICEMAN COMETH.** If any character in Eugene O'Neill's first play in twelve years was created to convey its meaning, to express its central thought, it is Larry Slade, a disillusioned anarchist. Slade, in a moment of torment, ruefully declares: "I was born condemned to be one of those who has to see all sides of a question. When you're damned like that, the questions multiply for you until in the end it's all question and no answer."

In all his plays, with a few doubtful exceptions, there is a feverish search for answers to the riddles of life; and the search usually ends in a blind alley. Still, there is no taint of nihilism in the defeats and frustrations of O'Neill's characters, no suggestion of despair.

Slade is the most articulate of a collection of derelicts drinking themselves

to death while residing in what in the author's and this reviewer's youth was called a Raines Law hotel—actually, a combination saloon and flop house, when it wasn't worse. Slade's residence might be described by the more respectable adjective. While it was the "No Chance Saloon," in Slade's words, "The End of the Line Cafe"—where no one had to worry about the next stop because it was impossible to go farther down—harlotry was forbidden on the premises. Slade's fellow residents had their origins in far-flung climes and various social conditions, descending from a quondam officer in the English army to a broken-down Negro gambler. The only thing they have in common is companionship in a Nirvana of alcoholic illusion. Living on the bounty of Harry Hope, the proprietor, himself a moral ghost, they seldom venture more than a few steps outside the door. Harry, himself, has not left the house in twenty years.

In the opening scene they are sitting around the tables in Harry's back room, most of them asleep, waiting for the appearance of Hickey, a traveling salesman, who visits the dive for a periodical debauch. It is about daybreak, and they have been sitting up all night because they do not want to miss any of the free drinks when Hickey launches the expected carousal. But when Hickey comes he is a changed man, a sort of missionary of sobriety. He has found peace of mind, he tells them, and no longer needs the comfort of alcohol. He is willing to buy them all the liquor they want, but urges them to face up to the crises in their lives, the defeats and problems that drove them to drink. Then, he assures them, they will find the wonderful peace that has come to him. Hickey, it is finally disclosed, came to tranquillity by murdering his wife.

Here is a sordid story, literally, with a macabre flavor. It is a measure of O'Neill's stature as a dramatist that, by reducing these wraiths to their spiritual elements, he makes their furious struggle to hold on to their illusions appear as significant as the Battle of The Bulge. They are disreputable morally and physically—socially lost men. They express themselves in language that frequently exudes the odor of brimstone. But they defend the last redoubt of their self-respect so desperately, so doggedly hold on to their better memories and hopes, their scraps of dignity, that one cannot despise them. Instead, one recognizes them as

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**THE DARK MIRROR.** It is still true that the theatrical complication of identical twins has never figured in high drama. The original coincidence is always a temptation to further coincidences, watering tragedy down to melodrama, and comedy to farce. This present excursion into psychiatry may be very good entertainment but it remains on the *Guignol* level. The twin sisters in the action symbolize much of movie characterization, which is still in the black-and-white stage. One is charming and sane, the other is villainous and paranoiac. The unstable sister commits murder, and when her twin offers the police no aid to identification, a psychiatrist steps in to solve the case. Robert Siodmak is skillful in building suspense and in camouflaging mere invention as a sinister slice of life. Olivia de Havilland, Lew Ayres and Thomas Mitchell give effective performances. The film in general is an interesting stunt for adults. (*Universal*)

**THE COCKEYED MIRACLE.** The juxtaposition of words in this title suggests a fantastic comedy, and the plot tries bravely to live up to the suggestion. An unwise investor, who has put his money in sheltered land on the sea-coast, passes on and leaves his family in need. But his spirit, abetted by another family shade, lingers on and, by conjuring up storms to increase the value of the snug harbor, guarantees his daughter's marriage and his son's career. S. Sylvan Simon blends humor of situation and character between two worlds, as Frank Morgan and Keenan Wynn enter into the spirits of the piece. In spite of occasional straining for cute novelty, the picture is a pleasant whimsy for adults. (*MGM*)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

## Parade

Had the shore-to-ship telephone service been in operation in past centuries, scenes portraying the service undoubtedly would have appeared in famous poems and novels of the past. . . . There might have been something like this:

**SCENE:** General offices of shore-to-ship telephone service.

**Supervisor** (to Operator No. 14): There's a boy standing on a burning deck. Try to reach him. Get him off.

**Loudspeaker** (heard throughout the huge building): A boy is reported standing on a burning deck. Shore-to-ship service is now attempting contact. **Operator No. 14** (to ship at sea): Captain, this is the shore-to-ship service. Have you seen a boy standing on a burning deck?

**Captain:** Aye. My ship lies near his. The boy stands on the burning deck, whence all but he have fled; the flame that lights the battle's wreck shines round him o'er the dead.

**Operator:** He's just standing there?

**Captain:** Aye, beautiful and bright he stands, as born to rule the storm—a creature of heroic blood, a proud though childlike form.

**Operator:** What's his idea?

**Captain:** As the flames roll on, he will not go without his father's word; that father, faint in death below, his voice no longer heard. The boy calls aloud: "Say, father: say if yet my task is done. Speak, father: if I may yet be gone!"

**Operator:** Oh, I see. He thinks he should not abandon the ship without his father's express command.

**Captain:** That's it. There's a deck phone near where he's standing. Call him up. He may listen to you.

**Operator:** I will. Stand by and pick him up. (Deck phone near boy rings. The boy answers.)

**Operator:** This is the shore-to-ship service. Now, son, you don't want to commit suicide, do you?

**Boy:** Oh, no.

**Operator:** Well, that's what you're doing. Your father is dead. If he were alive, he would order you off that deck. Now, I'm taking his place. I'm ordering you to jump off into the water. The ship nearby will pick you up. Will you?

**Boy:** Oh, yes. I just didn't know where duty lay. I'll jump off at once. (Operator contacts captain again.)

**Operator:** Has the boy jumped?

**Captain:** Aye, he's in the water. One of my boats is picking him up now.

**Operator:** Fine. This business of going down with the ship unnecessarily is just plain suicide.

**Captain:** You got to him just in time. That burning deck is blowing up now . . . Here's the boy. He'll all right.

**Operator:** Tell him I'm happy he's safe. Appreciate you cooperation. Best wishes to the boy and yourself.

**Loudspeaker:** Attention, please. The shore-to-ship service has just averted another suicide. The boy on the burning deck was induced to jump and is now safe on another ship. Nice work, Operator No. 14. JOHN A. TOOMEY

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# Correspondence

## *Religion, politics, and the atom bomb*

**EDITOR:** I appreciate your sending me the marked copy of AMERICA for September 28 (p. 627), and read with particular interest your comments on my remarks at the recent Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. I regret it if my remarks could in any way be interpreted as opposed to religion. Religion is of much more importance than politics in many phases of human existence. It deals with ends and values, and influences individual and social aspirations, character and happiness. I hope my suggestion that in the problem of world peace and the control of atomic energy we must look to politics rather than to religion is not regarded as critical of religion in its own sphere.

As you point out later in the comment, my remarks centered around the fact that the world is faced today by many religions. History shows that different religions have often been hostile to one another. This past and present situation may not be inevitable in the future, but the problems pressed upon us by the shrinking world and the atom bomb cannot wait. We must seek in the field of politics to do what can be done while the fact of many religions prevails.

It is perhaps the very modesty of the task of politics that gives a hope of political unity while religious unity still lags. Politics deals with means, and religion with ends. It is possible that through politics and the development of opinions men can unite on the prohibition of particular means of social action and the utilization of other means of social action, even while they differ on ultimate ends. Perhaps men of all religions and cultures can agree that in the search for the ultimate truths, the better values, and the more satisfying ways of life, they will observe procedures of discussion, conciliation and adjudication; and avoid procedures of fraud, violence and war, as set forth in the United Nations Charter. If such a modest program could be achieved by politics, then the more important job of discovering the ends of human life might proceed more satisfactorily.

It is, of course, true that men cannot get together on means unless they have some ends in common. It was in this sense of certain interests on which world opinion might unite for political purposes that I emphasized the universality of the desire of men to live and to escape such immediate fears as that engendered by the prospect of an atomic war. I think all of the great religions recognize the value of individual personality. This thought is emphasized on the bottom of the page 4 of the memorandum I submitted to the Conference, a copy of which I enclose.

Committee of International Relations  
University of Chicago

QUINCY WRIGHT

*[What remains of our dissent from Professor Wright's position stems from the unacceptable notion that politics deals merely with "means" and religion only with the "discovery of ends." The true religion (we were concerned to insist that only one could be integrally true) has already "discovered" the ends of human life, and provides for all men, statesmen included, a code of moral conduct for the achievement of those ends. Call it "means of salvation" or "program for peace," it represents the only conceivable rational basis for united social action, whether on the national or international plane. Conversely, politics, being an aspect of moral conduct, must adopt and adjust its techniques in the light and direction of the ends of human life, as our Declaration of Independence affirms so energetically. A common desire to live, coupled with a common fear of destruction, could furnish, we fear, but flimsy grounds for politicians to build a just and secure world order. How should we live, and what should we fear? are questions politics must put to religion, under pain of floundering helplessly in a morass of cross-purposes. Religion alone has the answers.—EDITOR.]*

## *School buses*

**EDITOR:** With reference to Allan P. Farrell's article on bus transportation in the October 19 issue, I wish to call your attention to the situation in New Jersey, which is not quite as stated in the article. New Jersey has not, I am

sorry to say, amended its constitution so that bus transportation can be legally provided for all children as indicated in the article. The situation in our State is that in 1941 a transportation bill was passed. This bill was held unconstitutional by our Supreme Court in 1944, but in 1945 our Court of Errors and Appeals upheld the constitutionality of the statute. The point of this letter is that my State is not entitled to any credit for having definitely and constitutionally provided for bus transportation for all children.

Jersey City, N. J.

JOSEPH A. DAVIS

*[Our correspondent is correct. New York amended its constitution to permit transportation of all school children on public-school buses. Wisconsin is voting on a similar amendment on November 5. But Kentucky, Washington and New Jersey only changed their bus transportation statutes in favor of carrying all school children on public buses.—EDITOR]*

## *Logic for everybody*

**EDITOR:** I should like to express my belated praise for Joseph G. Dwyer's article (October 12), "Logic for Our High Schools."

It has occurred to me many times that not only is the average high-school student capable of learning and retaining the principles of logic, but that it is essential (not merely advisable) that he do so, and that right quickly. In an age of "public relations" and "publicity" the average man needs some method of self-protection against propaganda in its worst sense. American democracy is based upon faith in the average man: but unless the average man can think clearly, analyze, synthetize, and thus rid himself of prejudices, such faith is unfounded.

Public schools, in particular, might spend a little less time teaching vocational subjects and a little more time teaching their students how to think. In fact, secular colleges exhibit weaknesses similar in quantity and quality to those displayed by the public high schools. Obviously, if we are to have a healthy democracy, the people must be able to think; equally obviously they will never learn to do so if they are taught only how to make a living.

A word more: congratulations on your new cover. It is the best so far.

New York, N. Y.

CHARLES WILLIAM PHILLIPS



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